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On the other hand, perfection, when it is accepted as a possibility and therefore recognized as a temporal goal, employs a standard of human conduct which is something less than the divine, for the character of Jesus Christ has not been duplicated in history, and to call the noblest and best of His followers perfect men is to emasculate the very concept of man as He defined it by His faultless life. All others abide our question as regards goodness. He alone is free. Charles Wesley said this clearly. He became anxiously concerned about so many of his brother John's converts who proclaimed themselves as morally and spiritually pure as the angels that he went so far as to disavow their claims in verse.

> The purest saint that lives below
> Doth his own sanctity disclaim,
> The wisest owns I nothing know,
> The holiest cries, I nothing am.

Imperfect perfection is a contradiction in terms. The adjective qualifying the noun is the antonym, or extreme opposite, of the noun's inherent meaning. It is like saying white jade or yellow emerald. A giant can as readily be a pigmy or a mature man a child as perfection can be any imperfect thing.

Consequently the Reformation reacted against Latin Catholicism at the point of this very issue. Human nature to the Reformers is at best imperfect and compromised. Humanity is a mass of perdition. We are born into the world as sinners, and sin dogs our path to the very end. Those who are saved have been reached without any credit to themselves by the unmerited favor of God. The preservation of the saints is wrought by the Almighty not without their sins but rather in spite of them, for sin among the elect is an accepted state of temporal reality until mortality is superseded by immortality and the body terrestrial has been translated into another celestial. Therefore the emphasis of Latin Catholicism on genuine righteousness within the church and its canonization of men and women, thereby specifying certain persons as possessing virtues worthy of the imitation of all Christendom, was to the Reformers a denial of true righteousness, which could only be the righteousness of Christ.

Indeed, the Roman Catholic system of salvation, with its stress on works and its employing confession to the priest, absolution, and satisfaction as constant acts for the believer, provides a practical adjustment to human nature and sets a norm of moral behavior that the average man by means of the aids of the church can be expected to reach. Thus anything better than the average which a person

performs is superfluous for him and is accumulated in a storehouse of merit by the church, to be applied to a less fortunate communicant whose good deeds fall below the average and whose life needs a supplementation of virtue if it is to qualify. Works of supererogation, then, are the meritorious acts of men, reducing the unmerited favor of God to the level of human imitation, so that the virtues of the saints have saving effectiveness like the virtue of Christ. "Hail, Mary, full of grace!"

The Reformers saw this plainly, so plainly in fact that in order to avoid it they sometimes seem willing to forego morality in the interest of furthering religion. "Sin lustily that grace may abound!" is less a concession to the inherent weakness of man's sinful nature than it is an emphasis upon the necessity of God's redeeming love. An honest, self-condemned sinner is to be preferred to a vain and self-conceited saint, for nothing is quite so deceiving and so dangerous as a cheap and easy standard of virtue, man-attained because it is man-made.

The Wesleyan emphasis on perfection runs the risk of such an appraisal, and many of its American delineations, illustrated all too vividly in the lives of bigots and fanatics, are proof aplenty of this. However, our concern is here with the classical doctrine itself. Does Wesley's preaching about perfection repudiate or confirm the witness of the Reformation? In this regard does he stand shoulder to shoulder with Luther and Calvin, or rather does he turn back from them to the earlier witness of the mediaeval mystics and saints? Or, more important still, does he incorporate elements from both traditions, so that he brings to light a new concept, thereby escaping the dangers involved in either extreme? Perhaps it would be wise at least to hope for the latter accomplishment and at least tentatively assume such success.

Historically at least Wesley presumed that he had reached in his teaching a satisfactory solution to the problem of the antinomy between human virtue and divine grace. He said outright, for example, that no one had understood better the doctrine of justification than had the Reformers, especially Luther and Calvin, but no one had understood less about sanctification than they. In contrast, he contended that the Roman Catholics had misapprehended justification altogether but they had seen clearly the truth of sanctification. But God, in His providence, claimed Wesley, had raised up the Methodists with a clear apprehension of both doctrines, and in their teaching the two issues have obtained a nice balance, which is the essence of functioning Christianity.

Justification, therefore, is the base, the solid doctrinal foundation on which the superstructure of sanctification with its apex of perfection rests. This presupposes original sin, universal guilt, and the dependence of everyone upon the free, unmerited favor of God. No one can help himself, and all men are damned without divine intervention. Consequently the initiative of God is stressed by Wesley with the same zeal that the Reformers displayed in stressing it, and Augustine before them. No credit is given to man, none whatever, not even in the apprehension of grace by faith, for faith itself is the gift of God. As in the case of the Reformers and Augustine, so with Wesley: faith is but the individuation of grace. It is grace particularized in the life of a single person. Man is not free to claim justifying favor apart from the aid of God.

The only difference, then, between Wesley on the one hand, and the Reformers and Augustine on the other hand, is that Wesley claims that God proffers grace to everyone. He is entirely indiscriminate in His favor. The gift of responding to divine mercy is inherent in the constitution of every human being. This is prevenient grace. Does that mean universal salvation? No, for man, though he does not have the strength of will to seek grace, does have the power to resist it. One man can reject for himself the divine mercy which unresisted would claim and save all men. Therefore, the decisive element in a given person's salvation is his own freedom. After all, man himself decides his own fate. In the end, doesn't Wesley actually take back what he appears to posit? Doesn't he subtract from God's sovereignty what he seemed at first so vigorously to affirm?

Wesley tries to circumvent this accusation by his doctrine of creation. He says God gave to man at creation a freedom of will which even God himself cannot with propriety disregard, since God is eternally loyal to His own handiwork. Therefore, even God felt constrained in redemption to adopt a plan that would take into account human freedom.

The act of justification carries with it moral and ethical consequences. What takes place in heaven is known about on earth, for the justified sinner is regenerated, cleansed of sin and empowered with the strength to do God's will. There is no other theologian in the entire range of Christian history who was any more concerned with the direct relationship between Christianity and morality than was John Wesley. To him the immoral man was *ipso facto* the un-Christian man. Christianity, at least in the personal sense, without morality could not exist. In fact, Wesley went so far as to claim that immediately on man's justification he was given by God the strength

not to commit a known act of sin.

What, then, is sanctification in Mr. Wesley's teaching? If a man is given control over sin by justification, is not anything else superfluous? Is not justification itself synonymous with Christian perfection? So it would seem, but such is not the case in Wesley's teaching. Rather satisfaction is not a single act, like justification. God forgives a man of his sin in a definite moment. Then he is justified. But sanctification has to do with inner dispositions, feelings, motives, the delicate and often unexpressed inclinations of the human heart. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Sanctification, therefore, is a long process. Frequently its duration is a lifetime.

What it means, practically, is that human motives coalesce gradually into one single overmastering motive, and that motive is love, not the *eros* of self-possessing gratification but the *agape* of God, self-giving to the extent even of self-losing. When a man's life becomes single—that is, when he is entirely motivated and directed by love, he has reached perfection; he thinks no evil because his thoughts are inspired by the goodness and greatness of God.

Wesley tries to protect sanctification, like justification, from the encroachment of human accomplishment and merit and therefore to make its claimants immune to pride and all its deceit. This he does by stating simply that it, too, is the direct gift of God, a peculiar sanctifying grace individuated as faith in the lives of the particular men and women who possess it. It is essential to full salvation, that is, acceptance by God into heaven in the end. But most folk are given it only in the hour of death. A few, to be sure, are favored with it amid the trials and tribulations of an active life. Here again, as in justification, man can do nothing positively to merit it. But he can resist it and prevent himself from receiving its blessings. Negation works therefore as if it were assertion, the "nay" as if it were the "yea" of existence. All are called to be saints, but few allow themselves to be chosen.

Perfection as the inward disposition only to love and therefore genuinely to be loveable from God's point of view is the Wesleyan doctrinal hallmark of fame. It springs, clear and refreshing, from the same fountain of grace as the justifying faith of the Reformers. It but adds a further, and what appeared to Wesley an obvious, precept: God who is good enough to forgive sin is likewise great enough to transform the sinner into the saint and that within the confines of the same temporal existence and among the same pressing temptations which led him into sin. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ is stronger, here and now, than all the power of the prince of darkness.

"WALKING IN THE RESURRECTION"

The Anabaptist Doctrine of Regeneration and Discipleship

Harold S. Bender*

The first article of the oldest Anabaptist confessional statement, drawn up in February 1527 at Schleitheim near Schaffhausen, Switzerland, describes, in an unforgettable phrase, the acceptable candidate for baptism as one who "desires to walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ."

> Baptism shall be given to all those who have been taught repentance and change of life, who believe in truth that their sins have been taken away by Jesus Christ, and . . . who desire to walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ and desire to be buried with Him in death so that they may be resurrected with Him, and who in such an understanding request and call for baptism of their own accord.[1]

It indicates a life with the living risen Christ now. Dutch Anabaptism has a similar emphasis. Menno Simons' first book, written in 1536, has the title *The Spiritual Resurrection,* defined in the opening sentence as a "resurrection from sin and death to a new life and a change of heart."[2]

The Anabaptists lived on the "resurrection side of the cross."[3] Their theology and ethics were resurrection theology and ethics. The new life wrought by God's regenerated grace was essential to them; men must die with Christ to sin and be risen with Him to new life. They delighted to repeat the appeal of Rom. 6:4 "to walk in newness of life," a phrase which might well be taken as the Anabaptist motto. They saw this new resurrection life as one in which the Holy Spirit works with power in continuous growth to perfection. This concept was clearly stated by Felix Manz, in a letter written to his fellow believers sometime before his execution in Zürich in January 1527.[3a]

> When a person produces the right fruits of repentance, the heaven of eternal joy is purchased and secured for him by grace

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1 Beatrice Jenny, *Das Schleitheimer Täuferbekenntnis 1527* (Thayngen, 1951), 10. Hereafter cited as *Schleitheim.*

2 J. C. Wenger, ed., *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons* (Scottdale, 1956), 53. Hereafter cited as *Menno.* The quotations from Menno cited in this article are taken from J. C. Wenger, "Grace and Discipleship in Anabaptism," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XXXV (1961), 50-69. Hereafter cited as *MQR.*

3 T. F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church: A Study in the Theology of the Reformers* (London, 1956), 72. Here Torrance says that "Luther's doctrine of *Anfechtung* . . . means that the believer does not really learn to live on the resurrection side of the cross." The Anabaptists taught the opposite.

3a Leonhard von Muralt and Walter Schmid, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz,* Vol. I, *Zürich* (Zürich, 1952), 219. Hereafter cited as *TA Zürich.*

> through Christ through His innocently shed blood, which He gladly shed; thereby He shows us His love and gives to us the power of His Spirit, and whoever receives the same [i.e., the Spirit] and practices it [*ausübet*] will grow and become perfect [*vollkommen*] in God.

The life here described is not one of moral self-endeavor and legalism, but one in which grace, faith, and the Spirit's power unite with the human will to produce a life of holiness before God and man. Such an experience was true of the first Anabaptist congregation at Zollikon, near Zürich, whose origin in February 1525 Professor Blanke describes in his splendid little book, *Brothers in Christ,* as a purely religious revival. It was a revival in which deliverance from sin and guilt was combined with commitment to a new life. Marx Bosshart's conversion in Zollikon is described in the terms of the summons which the preacher and baptizer Blaurock addressed to him: "Marx, you have hitherto been a careless young man and now you must become a different man, put off the old Adam and put on a new one, and be changed." Conrad Grebel had already pointed out this meaning of baptism in his letter of September 1524 to Müntzer: "It means that one had died, and should die, to sin, and walk in newness of life and Spirit." And Felix Manz had done the same in his petition of December 1524 to the City Council of Zürich, where he said that baptism should be so practiced that it signifies 'that one has been converted by the Word of God, changed his spirit [*Gmüt*] and henceforth wills to walk in newness of life." The Anabaptists of Grüningen in their declaration to the Zürich Council in 1527 similarly characterized the believers as those

> who have died to the will of the flesh and now are walking in the will of the Spirit, with the fruit of the Spirit. . . . Those who walk therein, they are the church of Christ and the body of Christ and the Christian church.[4]

This experience was repeated time and again in Zollikon and elsewhere. The doctrine of new life in the power of regeneration and of the Holy Spirit, with its confident hope of growth in holiness, lived by walking in the resurrection, is the true source of the powerful dynamic for holy living and discipleship in the Anabaptist movement. The new church is the result, not the cause, of this dynamic. That this dynamic understanding of regeneration and discipleship really produced results will be shown elsewhere in this paper.

Further, the content of the new life is defined by the Anabaptists as filled with the Spirit, example, and teachings of Christ. For instance, in the above-mentioned epistle Felix Manz declares:

4 *TA Zürich,* pp. 236 f.

> Christ hated no one, therefore neither do His true servants hate anyone, and follow Christ therefore on the true way on which He preceded them. They have this light of life before them and delight to walk in it.[5]

At the noteworthy Zofingen Disputation of 1532 the Anabaptist speakers made a similar declaration. Note their simple and sharply clear position in the following two statements: "He who abides in the Lord must walk in the Lord, keep His commandments, and have died to sins in the flesh," and

> Referring to Romans VIII, all those in whom the Word of Christ grows and bears fruit [*fruchtet und grünet*], they are the Church of God, are of the divine nature, are called brothers and sisters of Christ.[6]

The Schleitheim Confession says:

> In summary: what the mind of Christ our head is, this all must be the mind of the members of the body of Christ through Him, that no division may come into the body, thereby destroying it. Therefore just as Christ is, as is written of Him, just so must the members be.[7] (The division here referred to is between Christ and the members which would result from any deviation from Christ's way.)

Menno Simons describes the new life in unambiguous words:

> The regenerate . . . live no longer after the old corrupted nature of the first earthly Adam, but after the new upright nature of the new and heavenly Adam, Christ Jesus. . . . Their poor weak life they daily renew more and more, and that after the image of Him who created them. Their minds are like the mind of Christ: they gladly walk as he walked. . . . They put on Christ and manifest His nature, spirit, and power in all their conduct.[8]

Professor von Muralt of Zürich has well summed up the essence of the teaching of the Swiss Brethren in the following sentences:

> Faith and transformation of life stand in the most intimate connection for the Anabaptists. Faith produces the transformation; I would say, faith is the reality, faith takes form in the transformation, faith is transformation of life. The Anabaptists teach the obedience of faith.[9]

He supports this with a quotation from the Schleitheim Confession:

> All who have not stepped into the obedience of faith and have not united with God that they will to do His will are a great abomination before God.[9a]

Probably the most outstanding complete Anabaptist statement to support von Muralt's description is found in the testimony of an

5 *TA Zürich,* p. 219.
6 *Handlung oder Acta gehaltner Disputation und Gespräch zu Zofingen* (Zürich, 1532), 30.
7 *Schleitheim,* pp. 15 f.
8 *Menno,* p. 93.
9 L. von Muralt, *Glaube und Lehre der Schweizerischen Wiedertäufer in der Reformationszeit* (Zürich, 1938), 35.
9a *Schleitheim,* p. 12.

Anabaptist participant at the great colloquy of 1538 with the Reformed clergy of Bern:

> While yet in the national church, we obtained much instruction from the writings of Luther, Zwingli, and others, concerning the mass and other papal ceremonies, that they are vain. Yet we recognized a great lack as regards repentance, conversion, and the true Christian life. Upon these things my mind was bent. I waited and hoped for a year or two, since the minister had much to say of amendment of life, of giving to the poor, loving one another, and abstaining from evil. But I could not close my eyes to the fact that the doctrine which was preached and which was based on the Word of God was not carried out. No beginning was made toward true Christian living, and there was no unison in the teaching concerning the things that were necessary. And although the mass and the images were finally abolished, true repentance and Christian love were not in evidence. Changes were made only as concerned external things. This gave me occasion to inquire further into these matters. Then God sent His messengers, Conrad Grebel and others, with whom I conferred about the fundamental teachings of the apostles and the Christian life and practice. I found them men who had surrendered themselves to the doctrine of Christ by repentance (*Bussfertigkeit*). With their assistance we established a congregation in which repentance was in evidence by newness of life in Christ.[10]

This statement can almost be called an epitome of the universal Anabaptist position, with its negative charge against the fruit of Reformation and its positive vision of "repentance, conversion, and the true Christian life. "Since true repentance and Christian love were not in evidence, . . . we established a congregation in which repentance was in evidence by newness of life in Christ." How inseparably regeneration and discipleship are interlinked. The true Gospel must bear fruit in life.

This combination of connection between redemption and holy living is asserted in countless declarations in Anabaptist doctrinal writings as well as in Anabaptist hymnody. Michael Schneider declares boldly in an *Ausbund* hymn of 1535: "Who does not follow him, such an one Christ's blood has not redeemed, and his sins have not been forgiven." Another *Ausbund* hymn writer says simply but firmly: "He who is not willing to serve me [i.e., God] gets no grace from me." The successful holding together of grace and discipleship is found in a striking verse by still another *Ausbund* writer (no effort made to retain verse form):

> Do understand now, a throne of grace is what Christ the Lord has become, for all those who have faith, and are born in Him. Such receive grace insofar as they avoid sin. To such He has given through His death the eternal kingdom.[11]

10 Quoted in H. S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," in *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision* (Scottdale, 1957), 39.

11 Quoted from the *Ausbund* in Rosella Duerksen, "Doctrinal Implications in Sixteenth Century Anabaptist Hymnody," *MQR*, XXXV (1961), 38.

Menno Simons described those who have been regenerated as follows:

> They are the true congregation of Christ who are truly converted, who are born from above of God, who are of a regenerate mind, by the operation of the Holy Spirit through the hearing of the divine Word, and have become the children of God, have entered into obedience to Him, and live unblamably in His holy commandments.[12]

Again Menno says:

> All those who are born of God, who are gifted with the spirit of the Lord, who are, according to the Scriptures, called unto one body and love in Christ Jesus, are prepared by such love to serve their neighbors not only with money and goods, but also after the example of their Lord and Head, Jesus Christ, in an evangelical manner, with life and blood.[13]

And at another place he declares:

> For all the truly regenerated and spiritually minded conform in all things to the Word and ordinances of the Lord. Not because they think to merit the atonement of their sins and eternal life. By no means. . . . Oh no, it is grace, and will be grace to all eternity.[14]

Menno's most powerful statement on the subject is the following:

> The regenerate, therefore, lead a penitent and new life, for they are renewed in Christ and have received a new heart and Spirit. . . . And they live no longer after the old corrupted nature of the first earthly Adam, but after the new upright nature of the new and heavenly Adam, Christ Jesus. . . . Their poor weak life they daily renew more and more, and that after the image of Him who created them. Their minds are like the mind of Christ: they gladly walk as He walked; they crucify and tame their flesh with all its evil lusts. . . . They put on Christ and manifest His Spirit, nature, and power in all their conduct. . . . Hatred and vengeance they do not know. Avarice, pride, unchastity, and pomp they hate and oppose. . . . They seek righteousness with all their might. . . . I have told you often and tell you again that all who are born of God, rightly baptised in the Spirit, fire, and water as the Scriptures teach, are heavenly-minded and godly. Their sins they bury. They lead the penitent, pious, virtuous life according to the Word of the Lord. They know the nature and power of Christ which dwells in them by Word and work. They bring forth the fruits of the Spirit and suppress the works of the flesh. They are proper members of the body of Christ and labor according to the gift received. In short they are fruit-bearing branches of the true vine.[15]

Hear also Dirk Philips, who said:

> But although we . . . desire to be diligent to do God's will by His grace, yet let no one think or imagine nor say of us that we seek our salvation in any other way than in the grace of God and in the merits of Christ alone. For we firmly believe and openly confess that we are saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.[16]

12 *Menno*, p. 300. 13 *Menno*, p. 558. 14 *Menno*, p. 396. 15 *Menno*, pp. 93, 99.
16 Dirk Philips, *Enchiridion*, tr. by A. B. Kolb (Elkhart, 1910), p. 312.

Pilgram Marpeck, the great South German Anabaptist leader, describes the Gospel and the Christian's experience as follows:

> The apostles have preached the Gospel as they were bidden, namely, that Christ died for the sins of the whole world, that He has reconciled the Father, has atoned for unrighteousness by His blood and saves from eternal death, as henceforth every believer, being a temple of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, has become partaker of the new eternal life and is to live blamelessly.[17]

At another place Marpeck says:

> We recognize as true Christian faith only such a faith through which the Holy Spirit and the love of God came into the heart, and which is active, powerful, and operative in all outward obedience and commanded works.[18]

Underlying the vigorous emphasis of the Anabaptists upon holy living and discipleship as the fruit of regeneration was a sound understanding of the Gospel as promising victory in the struggle with sin, and as making possible the life of love and good works. They did not harbor the gloomy anthropology which taught that the Christians could never really break the bondage of sins and live in true holiness, which seems to characterize Luther. In a booklet entitled *Vindication* the Swiss Brethren protested against the opinion that "it is impossible for anyone to live according to the Gospel and be obedient to the divine commands and to keep them, or to believe in Christ and die to sin according to the requirement and doctrine of the Gospel."[19] Conrad Grebel protested that "in our time everyone hopes to be saved by a faith which consists of outward appearance, without the fruits of faith . . . while remaining in the old life of sin." What the Anabaptists were objecting to was the doctrine of the inner inability of the Christian man, even when equipped with the grace of God, to conquer sin. They would have repudiated the modern doctrine that involvement in a sinful world order requires compromise and a deliberate decision not to seek the higher order of Christ. Because of their doctrine of the two kingdoms[20] with its sharp separation of the church from the world, they would have rejected any compromises with Christ's teachings, quite apart from their understanding of the Lordship of Christ as absolute.

A last point in the analysis of the Anabaptist conception of regeneration and discipleship is its emphasis upon positive love. Walking in the resurrection of Christ meant not only putting away the

17 Quoted in John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, 1942), 371. Hereafter cited as Horsch.

18 Pilgrim Marpeck, *Verantwortung*.

19 Quoted in Horsch, p. 337.

20 Robert Friedmann, "Doctrine of the Two Worlds," *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision* (Scottdale, 1957), 105-118.

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old man of sin and putting on the new man of holiness, but living the life of love both within the brotherhood and also toward all men. In other words, it is not at all limited to negatives or concerned only with petty moralisms, and harsh discipline, but fills the life with creative love. Good evidence of this is found in the Anabaptist hymns. According to Rosella Duerksen,[21]

> Undoubtedly the principle of Christian love is treated more frequently in Anabaptist hymnody than any other single belief. Constant references to love as the primary indication of regeneration are prevalent in all Anabaptist hymn collections, with the exception of one short hymnal filled with the martyr mood. . . . Only he who has Christian love is truly born anew of God.

Felix Manz declared in his afore-mentioned epistle: "He who does not demonstrate Christian love finds no acceptance with God." Menno Simons likewise emphatically calls for the practice of active love; one of his six marks of the true church was "unfeigned brotherly love." Notice also the following quotations from Menno:[22]

> Love is the total content of Scripture. . . . In short, where love is, there is a Christian.
>
> Besides we teach the true love and fear of God, the true love of our neighbor, to serve and aid all mankind and injure none.
>
> They [i.e., true believers] . . . walk in all love and mercy, they serve their neighbors, etc.
>
> [True messengers of the Gospel], who are one with Christ in Spirit, love, and life, teach that which is entrusted within by Christ.
>
> The Scripture urges charity and love, and it is the one sign by which a true Christian may be known.

The Anabaptist doctrine of nonresistance is not only based on the specific commands of the Sermon on the Mount, but is an outgrowth of this understanding of love as essential in the regenerated nature. This love is not just an inward sentiment, but calls for definite action.

The Anabaptist doctrine of regeneration and discipleship was expressed in the context of Reformation theology and practice, and in conscious opposition to it. It was not that the Anabaptists differed basically from the Reformation on such doctrines as the sole authority of the Scriptures, grace, and justification by faith, or in the classic Christian loci of doctrine, for they did not. In fact, they had much in common with the Reformers. Wolfgang Capito, leading reformer of Strasbourg, wrote in 1527 that in "the principal articles and vital points of faith," the Anabaptists did "not err at all."[23] Zwingli repeatedly asserted that the Brethren differed from him only on out-

21 Rosella Duerksen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
22 *Menno*, pp. 917, 304, 506, 448, 558.
23 Krebs-Rott, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, vol. VII, *Elsass*, Part I (Gütersloh, 1959), 86, in Capito's letter to Horb, May 31, 1527.

ward things which were not of great importance. The Reformed ministers who participated in the Berne debate of 1532 admitted that they were "of one mind in the leading articles of faith, and our controversy has only to do with external things."[24] Robert Friedmann has protested that this interpretation is incorrect, and that the Brethren were not really Protestants at all.[25] And we do, of course, not agree that the points of difference were only minor and external; the evaluation by the above Reformers merely indicates a different hierarchy of values in their understanding of the Christian faith. The reconciliation of Friedmann's point of view with what I have just quoted from Capito and Zwingli is to be found, I believe, in the differing central thrust of the Reformers and the Anabaptists, which differences are, we believe, highly significant even though the two parties agreed on the classical Protestant doctrines. On the historic Protestant doctrine of *sola Scriptura* there was complete agreement between the Anabaptists (except for the spiritualist fringe of Anabaptism) and the Reformers. This fact has never been disputed. On the question of *sola fide,* however, the charge of preaching a works salvation was often made against them by the Reformers. But the injustice of this charge has recently been effectively demonstrated by John C. Wenger,[26] who draws his evidence that the Anabaptists held to absolute dependence of the sinner upon the grace of God for redemption and sanctification from the major Anabaptist writers of all groups—Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, Pilgram Marpeck, and Peter Riedemann, as well as lesser leaders. Rosella Duerksen arrives at the same conclusion from a study of four Anabaptist hymnals of the mid-sixteenth century. She says:

> The early Anabaptist view of human redemption as expressed in the hymnody coincides with that of other Reformation groups. Luther's rallying cry of the Reformation, "justification by faith," echoes again and again. One is saved through the death of Christ, and justified by faith in Him.[27]

The difference in main thrust between the Anabaptists and the Reformers may be stated in several ways. For one thing, Luther emphasized the status of forgiveness and peace achieved through justification, whereas the Anabaptists conceived the chief thrust of God's grace to be in regeneration following forgiveness, and this regeneration is understood as a vital change, not primarily as conferring status, but as transforming heart and mind and producing newness

24 Quotations from Zwingli on this point are found in the critical edition of Zwingli's Works edited by Egli, Finster, Koehler, *et. al.,* Vol. III, 406, 872, and Vol. IV, 206, 316.

25 Robert Fredmann, "Anabaptism and Protestantism," *MQR* XXIV (1950), 12-24.

26 John C. Wenger, "Grace and Discipleship in Anabaptism," *MQR,* XXV (1961), 50-69.

27 Rosella Duerksen, *op. cit.,* p. 38.

of life. Also, forgiveness was conditioned upon repentance, which was understood by the Anabaptists not so much as an admission of guilt as a turning away from the old life of sin into the new life of obedience, which certainly is the New Testament understanding. There was also a substantial difference in the understanding of faith. Luther's emphasis was on faith as acceptance of God's offer of forgiveness and salvation, whereas the Anabaptists understood faith as a dynamic response to God's approach; this response opened the life to the transforming grace of God, which resulted in obedience and discipleship; faith and obedience were as inseparable as regeneration and discipleship. Faith of this sort inevitably produces fruit. Anabaptist faith involved commitment to Christ to follow Him in all things, as Lord, as example, as forerunner. It meant not simply resting in grace, it meant "walking in the resurrection."

Luther's view of faith, combined with his doctrine of *Anfechtung,* resulted in a radically difference concept of the center of the Christian life. T. F. Torrance says pointedly that Luther's view "means that the believer does not really learn to live on the resurrection side of the cross." Torrance comments further that, in Luther's consequent view of the church, "it belongs to the very nature and mission of the church that it should be hidden in this world and mixed up with hypocrites and unbelievers."

> There were times when Luther rather yearned for a separate church of the pure and faithful to whom he could preach and minister—though true Christians were too few for that purpose—but he did not wish to draw them out of their context in the social structure of the world by setting up a special ecclesiastical structure and so organizing a clear-cut separatist church, a visible society of the saints, but preferred to allow the church to work as a leavening *Christenheit* in the social hierarchies of the world, of family, of worship, and the State. Certainly the Church was to be visibly marked out from the world by the Word and Sacrament, by confession, but it was to be compacted by the Word within the authority and protection provided by the State.[28]

Here is, of course, the parting of the ways where the Anabaptists came to a radically different view of the church from Luther's. With their view of the Christian life they could not but hold that the church as the body of Christ must be composed only of those who meant to be earnest disciples. The church must be pure as Christ is pure. It must exercise discipline and put out the disobedient and the unbeliever, and it must never tolerate a mixing of the world inside the church.

Luther's familiar and oft-quoted two marks of the true church,

28 Torrance, *op. cit.,* pp. 69 f.

which are still freely offered today by modern churchmen of Lutheran and other persuasions, were "the right preaching of the Gospel" and "the right administration of the sacraments." Such a concept of the essential characteristics of the church explains much. These two marks can be fulfilled without any reference to the membership, by church officials *(Amtsträger)*. Little wonder that the state churches of Europe became "Pastoren- und Theologenkirchen," with little involvement of the laity. Why should the laity be concerned about their life if the preachers could by their functioning alone create the true church? If this is too strongly stated, it is certainly clear at least that discipleship was not required by Luther as a mark of the true church. On the Calvinistic side of the Reformation it was, to be sure, somewhat different. Calvin and Knox added a third mark of the true church, "the right administration of ecclesiastical discipline," and this demanded something of the membership.

By contrast, Menno Simons' six marks of the true church, probably offered in direct contrast to Luther's two marks, are: (1) pure doctrine; (2) Scriptural use of the ordinances of baptism and Lord's Supper (this is understood quite differently from Luther's right administration of the sacraments); (3) obedience to the Word; (4) brotherly love; (5) open confession of Christ and God; and (6) suffering. Four of these marks can be made effective only by the membership. Especially important are marks (2) and (4)—the requirement of obedience to the Word and brotherly love; in other words, discipleship.

The differing Anabaptist and Lutheran points of view in the doctrine regarding the Christian life and the church were bound to work themselves out in practical experience, and the difference in Christian living among the adherents of the two communions was indeed striking.

Prince Philip of Hesse, who had a keen interest in the religious and moral life of his people, had occasion repeatedly to compare the Anabaptists with the Lutherans, as he sought to steer his way through the difficult problems of renewal in the church in Reformation times and of dealing with the Anabaptist movement in his territory. On February 18, 1530, in a letter to his neighbor, the Duke of Saxony, in justification of his refusal to accede to the latter's urgent pressure for a policy of harsh persecution of the Anabaptists, expressed the following judgment: "I see more improvement of conduct among those whom we call fanatics [Anabaptists] than among those who are Lutheran."

This is a judgment expressed repeatedly by a wide range of reformers and religious leaders of all confessions and in widely scattered territories who knew at first hand the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. May I refer at this point to a number of witnesses which I have assembled in my *Anabaptist Vision,* and cite here only a few of these as illustrative. Zwingli himself, in his last book against the Anabaptists, 1527, declared: "If you investigate their life and conduct, it seems . . . irreproachable, pious, . . . attractive, yea above this world."[29] Bullinger, his successor as head of the Zürich church and a bitter enemy of the Anabaptists, after thirty-five years of acquaintance with the Swiss Brethren, testified in 1560:

> Those who unite with them will by their ministers be received into their church by rebaptism and repentance and newness of life. They henceforth lead their lives under a semblance of a quite spiritual conduct. They denounce covetousness, pride, profanity, the lewd conversation and immorality of the world, drinking, and gluttony.[30]

Being completely baffled by such a high type of living, Bullinger concluded that Anabaptist holiness must be hypocrisy of the deepest dye, designed to catch unwary neighbors and mislead them to join the new brotherhood. He says, "in short their hypocrisy was great and manifold." As early as 1531 Bullinger wrote in alarm that "the people are running after them as though they were the living saints."[31] In 1560 Bullinger explained that some people were joining the Anabaptists because they

> Compare the earnest life of the Anabaptists (not knowing their hypocrisy nor their ruinous errors) with the incompetence of the evangelical preachers in teaching and in life, and imagine that in the Anabaptist churches there is nothing but holiness and spiritual well-being (*Heiligkeit und Seligkeit*).[32]

This is supported by a mandate of the Bernese Council against the Brethren in 1585 which declares that the offensive sins and vices among the preachers and members of the Swiss Reformed Church were "the greatest reason why many pious, God-fearing people who seek Christ from the heart are offended and forsake our church [to unite with the Brethren]."[33]

Caspar Schwenckfeld, who was indeed a noble Christian, in 1564 complained that "all who lead a true, pious Christian life are now almost everywhere given the name of Anabaptist." Bullinger had a similar complaint, that

29 H S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," *op. cit.,* p. 44.
30 *Ibid.,* p. 44.
31 *Ibid.,* p. 31.
32 Heinrich Bullinger, *Der Widertäufferen Ursprung* (Zurich, 1561).
33 H. S. Bender, *op. cit.,* p. 46.

> There are those who in reality are not Anabaptists but have a pronounced aversion to the sensuality and frivolity of the world and therefore reprove sin and vice and are consequently called or misnamed Anabaptists by wanton persons.[34]

The Anabaptists themselves, in the various parts of sixteenth century Europe where they were to be found, whether in Switzerland, Moravia, Hesse, the Rhineland, or Holland, noted similarly that the Reformation fell far short of changing lives and producing the holiness which the Gospel calls for and which the Reformers professed, however much the forms of worship and ecclesiastical structures were changed. The abundant documentary evidence for this has often been cited. The earlier long citation from the Bern Disputation of 1538 may be recalled at this point.

The Anabaptist evaluation of the negative outcome of the Reformation in "true Christian living" has been sufficiently confirmed by leading modern historians of the state churches, both Lutheran and Reformed, to say nothing of the contemporary writers quoted above such as Prince Philip of Hesse and Bullinger, that it must be accepted as essentially true. That morals frequently sank below the previous Catholic level is freely conceded even by defenders of the Reformation. Luther himself admitted to Schwenckfeld his regrets "that no amendment of life was in evidence."[35]

Why the level of Christian living and morals in so many evangelical places sank so low is difficult to understand. Was it the inadequate teaching of the Reformers on this aspect of the evangelical doctrine, the overemphasis upon grace and freedom from the law, coupled with the natural consequences of rapid social change with its inevitable loosening of social controls, or was it the poor religious experience of the mass of the previous Catholic population combined with "the incompetence in teaching and life" of the many ex-Catholic parish priests? Or was it perhaps the inevitable consequence of a change at the top of the ecclesiatical order by governmental edict while the mass church concept below was still retained with the inevitably slow process of reforming the mass?

But why were the Anabaptists more successful in producing "true Christian living," as the evidence adduced in the previous paragraphs abundantly indicates? Let us hear what outstanding modern Lutheran and Reformed historians offer as their explanations. Professor Ernst Stähelin of Basel says,

> Anabaptism, by its earnest determination to follow in life and practice the primitive Christian Church, kept alive the conviction that he who is in Christ is a new creature.[36]

34 *Ibid.*, p. 46. 35 *Ibid.*, p. 40. 36 Horsch, p. 386.

Gottfried Strasser, a Swiss Reformed theologian, says similarly:

> They aimed at establishing within the narrow limits of those who took the Christian life more seriously, a true Christian church composed of those who were striving for active holiness according to the example of the apostolic church.

Ernest Müller of the same church says:

> They placed the principal emphasis upon holiness of life and established themselves firmly among the lower strata of society, imparting to them true religious conviction.[38]

Professor Alfred Hegler of Tübingen spoke of "their demand for personal holiness, and a vital personal acceptance of Christian truth."[39] Professor Karl Bauer said: "Their strength lay in the earnestness of their striving for holy living."[40] Dr. Abraham Hulshof, a Dutch Mennonite historian, writing of the Anabaptists in Strasbourg, said:

> The Anabaptists' aim was a church of those who took their Christian profession seriously, who were in real earnest in the endeavor to conform their lives to the requirements of the gospel.[41]

Max Goebel, a Reformed historian writing in 1849 of the Anabaptists of the Rhineland, said:

> The essential and distinguishing characteristic of this church is its great emphasis upon the actual personal conversion and regeneration of every Christian through the Holy Spirit.[42]

Johannes Kühn, a Lutheran scholar writing in 1920, said:

> With the Anabaptists everything was based on a central idea. This central idea was concretely religious. It was Jesus' command to follow Him in a holy life of fellowship.[43]

These explanations agree in emphasizing personal conviction, and conversion, earnest endeavor, a high vision, and taking the Christian life seriously.

May I offer speculations of my own as to the reason for the success of the Anabaptists in producing holy living. (1) They insisted upon personal conviction, conversion, and commitment as adults, based upon prior teaching. (2) They made the above a requirement for admission to church membership. (3) They worshiped mostly in small groups with intimacy of personal acquaintance, testimony, observation, and admonition. (4) They practiced church discipline. (5) They had high standards for the Christian life, which were so

37 *Ibid.*, p. 297.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 297.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 296.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 297.
41 *Ibid.*, p. 298.
42 H. S. Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

much higher than the average of the society of the time that only really committed persons would accept them and seek to fulfill them. (6) They practiced separation from the world and so were delivered from the constant influence of the low-living multitude.

The intense emphasis of the Anabaptists on earnest discipleship and holy living led to the repeated charge by their opponents that they claimed sinlessness and taught perfectionism, and hence had no need of God's forgiving grace. This charge the Anabaptists of all kinds—Swiss, German, Dutch, Hutterite—rejected vigorously, and the facts support them. The practice of church discipline, with the ban or excommunication, which was universal among all branches of Anabaptists, is alone sufficient evidence to support this rejection. In the Bern Disputation of 1538 it was found that the Reformed ministers and the Anabaptists agreed that the Anabaptists did not teach perfectionism. The Brethren present there said that they "never taught that they could not sin, or were without sin."[44] The Swiss Brethren in the Canton of Zürich said the same thing in a *Supplication* which they delivered to the civil authorities in 1589.

> As concerns the accusation made by your preachers that we would be saved by our own works and sufferings, and thus render the redemptive work of Christ vain and useless, in this charge they do us wrong; for all the good that we can do or accomplish is only the fruit of a true living faith.[45]

Menno Simons and Dirk Philips in their writings often protested the charge of teaching perfectionism. Menno Simons understood the cause of the charge even while he repudiated it. He said: "They accuse us falsely that we assert to be without sin. This they do because we insist with all the Scriptures in the need of a life showing the fruits of repentance."[46]

To be sure, not all the Reformers held to Luther's views of the Christian life. Calvin and Knox, as stated before, strongly insisted on "ecclesiastical discipline rightly administered." Calvin's strict discipline at Geneva is well known. Bucer, the Reformer of Strasbourg and a contemporary of Luther, is another case. Torrance states Bucer's conception of the Christian life as meaning "that we must love Christ and keep His commandments," and quotes him as saying expressly, "If we have the Spirit of the reigning Christ dwelling in us, He works in us efficaciously so that we daily die in Him and rise again, and are continuously reformed into His image and

44 Horsch, p. 376.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 375.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 377.

justified."[47] Bucer sounds here very much like an Anabaptist, and it is easy to understand that in Strasbourg most of the clergy sympathized with the Anabaptists, Capito even at one time being near to joining them. Bucer himself, when serving Philip of Hesse in 1538 in an attempt to solve the Anabaptist problem there, openly conceded the Anabaptist charge against the low standard of life among Christians there, and then led the Hessian church to introduce discipline and confirmation (as a result of which a number of outstanding Hessian Anabaptist leaders returned to the state church.) In fact, the introduction of confirmation in Lutheran Protestantism occurred first here in Hesse, and is clearly an attempt to match the challenge of Anabaptist adult baptism.[48]

But Bucer's ideal for the church, in Strasbourg, in Hesse, and elsewhere, was bound to be frustrated by the concept of the mass church, most of whose members had no experience of God's grace and a corresponding commitment to discipleship flowing from regeneration to support the ideal. And Calvin's Geneva was disciplined finally by the police. Here the Anabaptists were clear. Discipleship flowed from regeneration, and the church was to be composed only of such regenerated disciples. The only weapon of discipline was the ban. Only on this platform could the church seek to fulfill her Lord's calling to be His bride, without spot or wrinkle, in which every man grows up into the fullness of Christ.

The chief purpose of this paper has been to present the evidence for the historic fact and simple meaning of the Anabaptis doctrine of regeneration and discipleship, in its Reformation setting, and not to expound its meaning in depth or as related to all the other loci of Anabaptist doctrine. The evidence is clear and overwhelming. Life in Christ, newness of life, life in evidence, holiness in depth, love in action—this the Anabaptists meant and they meant it seriously. They called for real and dynamic regeneration, not just a status act, or a theological formula, and for faith in depth, living faith. They were rightly optimistic that the grace of God in them would produce what God called for and what Christ's resurrection and Pentecost was intended to achieve. Not all the powers of the Enemy could defeat them. They would build the Church of Christ as His living body in the midst of this evil world, and the world would know that His disciples were there. John Wesley would probably have been one of those Anabaptist disciples, had he had the opportunity.

47 Torrance, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
48 Christian Hege, article "Hesse," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II (Scottdale, 1956).

THE DISCIPLINE OF DISCIPLESHIP IN THE FREE CHURCH TRADITION

FRANKLIN H. LITTELL*

> The perfumed spectators are wont to look on, not to join in the struggle, not to endure the sun, the heat, the dust and the showers. . . . They, then, who have devoted themselves to pleasure, luxury, robbery, gain, or honours are spectators rather than combatants.[1]

These are the words of St. Ambrose, affirming the role of the Christian as an athlete of the spirit. The spectators were those who clung to their aloofness as followers of hedonism or worshipers of the pagan god Apollos. They did not accept involvement, the responsibility of the Christians, who held the world together by their prayers even as they eagerly awaited the advent of the Kingdom.

THE ATHLETES OF THE SPIRIT

To discuss the dimension of Christian perfection is to consider the life of the church as a community of disciples, as a sealed band of athletes of the spirit. For the whole problematic of perfection is foreign to those who stand with hands in pockets, unwilling to soil themselves with involvement in the duress and sufferings of the Christian people. Without suffering, there is no witness in this world; without the cross, there is no crown. For the world hates the church, when she is truly the church; the spirit of the times is set at right angle to the spirit of the New Israel, and hates it. The world will gladly accept the religion of spectators, the piety of individual "spirituality" of those who work hard at their righteousness; but it hates the Cross, and the message that this world must pass away, nay more, that the judgment of God has already been passed upon it.

The perfection of the church lies in her hope, her love, her faith. At one level of meaning, "church" is an eschatological concept. That is, God has been working in all times to fashion a true church out of refractory material; a "true church" in the sense of finished perfection has never yet existed; the church whose perfection we anticipate and eagerly look for will be rounded out at the end of time, when the Church and the Kingdom become one. At another level, "church" is found where there is found a faithful and obedient people—fulfilling that calling as a community of witness which has made out of them who were once no people, a New Israel.

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1 St. Ambrose, *On the Duties of the Clergy* (N.Y.: The Christian Literature Co., 1896), 11 (Nicene and PNF, 2nd series, vol. x.)

Her perfection lies in being what the Head of the Church needs, here and now, of His disciples.

The perfection of Christians lies not in symmetry of organization, balance of perspectives, roundedness of total objectives, comprehensiveness of teachings, clarity and precision of propositions. It lies above all in timing—in being at the right place at the right time with the right witness. Kierkegaard was content to be a "little pinch of salt in God's soup." Wesley, paraphrasing the Apostle, "suffering to become as the filth and offscouring of the world to the glory of Christ" in field preaching—which all his natural instincts abhorred as novel and vulgar. But it was enough that the humble poor needed the gospel preached to them and that God was manifestly using an unconventional method to serve His purposes: the devil didn't like field preaching either. The perfection of the Christian does not lie in the path of moderation, in a "sound mind in a sound body," in gentlemanly conduct; rather he is made perfect in love by Him who has taken his broken and alienated person and made of him a New Man, with the limp and the scars not obliterated but sanctified.

Menno Simons and John Wesley on Christian Perfection

Menno and Wesley both dealt with Christian perfection in terms of the New Testament imperatives, in terms of the perfection of the church. Neither had any use for individual mysticism or prophetism or special revelations. The key question remained: what does God intend of His people? To face this question they had to break radically with the prevailing patterns of patronage and apostasy in Christendom. They introduced again the note of radical discontinuity between the "world" (in New Testament terms, the "spirit of the times") and the disciplines of discipleship. In Menno's day both Roman Catholicism and state-church Protestantism in theory took their intellectual and practical direction from professional theologians and canon lawyers; in fact, the standards of conduct were set by the Emperor, princes, and town councillors. The integrity of the church was not—and could not be so long as institutional controls remained as they were—harnessed under the yoke of obedience to the Head and Governor of the church.

Menno condemned the prevailing pattern of culture-religion, which betrayed the perfection of the church in her mission. The Christians could only grow in love and service if God the Holy Spirit governed and disciplined without the interference and imposition of worldly authority. Characteristic was his rebuke of the arrangements which lay behind the publication of Gellius Faber's attack.

> In the third place Gellius has dedicated his writing to a nobleman, as is customary with the learned ones: thinking perhaps by this means their aim will be more easily attained, through the power and support of such dignitaries; a thing which the pious witnesses, prophets, and teachers, especially of the New Testament, never desired and much less sought or employed concerning God's truth and Word.
>
> . . . in my opinion, His Honor would have done better if he had pondered the matter well and turned his contribution to the support, assistance, consolation, nourishment, and clothing of the needy, especially in these hard times of hunger, and not for the occasion of deceiving many simple hearts and to the greater distress and persecution of the pious.[2]

John Wesley was equally abrupt with the patronage system which corrupted the established church and silenced her ministry. Up until the middle of the nineteenth century most of the rural Anglican clergy were appointed and paid by the lords of manor and rural squires. When Wesley claimed the whole world as his parish and set up an itinerancy, he was not operating on abstract principles: he was openly defying the whole patronage system which defaced and disfigured the church. If the established church had not been so flaccid, he would have been expelled long since. Throughout his active life he shifted by steady steps from the developmental and sacramental view of the institutions of Christendom to normative use of the New Testament and reference to the Early Church. He justified field preaching and the itinerancy, class meetings and their disciplinary structure, and finally the ordination of ministers for America, on the argument that he was following "apostolic" practice. He became, in his basic orientation, a Free Churchman.

John Wesley's views of Christian perfection were heavily influenced by the writings of Macarius the Egyptian, whom he read thoroughly while studying industriously in the library at Oxford. In the first volume of his *Christian Library,* he published the Homilies, the theme of which was the alienation of Christians from the world and the things of this world.

> Souls like these, that have a fervent and insatiable love for the Lord, are therefore worthy of the redemption from vile affections, and receive the irradiation and presence of the Holy Spirit, which is unspeakable, and the mystical fellowship in the fullness of grace. But as many souls as are destitute of manly vigour and activity, are still but as in the flesh; having never entertain'd any hopes of receiving the sanctification of their heart through patience and long-suffering, nor of enjoying the fellowship of the spirit, with the utmost sensation and assurance. . . .[3]

2 *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons (c. 1496-1561)* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1956), "Reply to Gellius Faber" (1554), 269, 642. Hereafter, *CW.*

3 "The Homilies of Macarius," in John Wesley, ed., *A Christian Library* (Bristol: Felix Farley, 1749), 106.

In the writings of Macarius the whole discussion of Christian perfection is set in the contrast between the life and discipline of the Christian people and the style of life of the children of this world. He stresses continually the work of the Holy Spirit in confirming faith and blessing the community where love is a gift and not a burden.

Menno also contrasted repeatedly the life of the Christian with the wise after the flesh. He second writing was on "The Spiritual Resurrection" (*c.* 1536). "This resurrection includes the new creature, the spiritual birth and sanctification, without which no one shall see the Lord. . . . In short, with these people old things have passed away. . . ."[4] In "The New Birth" (*c.* 1537), he came to the theme again:

> The regenerate, therefore, lead a penitent and new life, for they are renewed in Christ and have received a new heart and spirit. Once they were earthly-minded, now heavenly; once they were carnal, now spiritual; once they were unrighteous, now righteous; once they were evil, now good, and they live no longer after the old corrupted nature of the first earthly Adam, but after the new upright nature of the new and heavenly Adam, Christ Jesus, even as Paul says: Nevertheless, I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. Their poor, weak life they daily renew more and more, and that after the image of Him who created them. Their minds are like the mind of Christ, they gladly walk as He walked; they crucify and tame their flesh with all its evil lusts. In baptism they bury their sins in the Lord's death and rise with Him to a new life. They circumcise their hearts with the word of the Lord; they are baptized with the Holy Ghost into the spotless, holy body of Christ, as obedient members of His church, according to the true ordinance and Word of the Lord.[5]

The Complete Writings are full of parallel statements. It is interesting to see the reference to "heart circumcision," a theme of which Wesley also made much. Most important for present purposes, however, is to underline the extent to which the entire problematic is set in the context of the church, with Christian perfection a matter of community witness and not individual enterprise. Moreover, perfection is not a "work"; Menno and Wesley both resisted such danger, as vigorously as they both opposed Antinomianism.

> For a genuine Christian is a man that is born of God after the Spirit, one who has become a new creature in Christ, who has crucified his flesh with its lusts, and who hates all ungodliness and sin. All his works are righteousness, patience, truth, obedience, humility, chastity, love, and peace. He is driven by the Spirit of the Lord, and always his delight is in the law of the Lord, and he speaks of them by day and by night. All his words are in grace, seasoned with salt; he sincerely strives for the pious life which is from God, and he fears

4 *CW*, pp. 54, 61.
5 *CW*, p. 93.

his God from the depths of his soul. In short, he is after his received gift of one mind and one nature with Christ Jesus.[6]

It is God the Spirit who works in the new men and new women of the New Covenant. In Roman Catholicism and Protestant scholasticism the transition was identified with the rite of infant baptism. Both Menno and Wesley, however, followed Martin Bucer of Strasbourg in identifying baptism as an outward sign of an infusion of grace which was prior to the rite which in no sense controlled or channeled the mighty works of God. Menno stressed the consciousness of decision in the believer and Wesley emphasized the prevenient grace of God toward children in the Christian families; both, however, relied basically upon the divine initiative expressed in the work of the Holy Spirit which went before the outward rite and alone gave it fundamental meaning. It would be going too far to accuse the state-church Reformers of the Macedonian heresy of ditheism ("from whence are you bringing in upon us this strange God?"). Nevertheless, a major weakness in the Reformers was the lack of a satisfactory doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Lutheran scholasticism slipped into a teaching which in effect finished the major works of God with the New Testament canon. In addition, the doctrine of the church was so spiritualized that no true sanctifying or perfecting work of the Spirit could be evident or given witness to. Those who persisted in affirming the continuing work of the Holy Spirit and repeated the New Testament pledge that the Head of the Church would perform greater miracles through His disciples than by His own hand were condemned as "enthusiasts." Both Menno and Wesley were so disparaged in their day, although neither had any use for special revelations or individualistic inspirations. Both had a far richer awareness of the truth contained in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit than their contemporaries in the established churches, and it was this which made their understanding of Christian perfection so creative. The Spirit was not a promiscuous inspiration, a light given to the Gentiles, but God the Holy Spirit—the third person of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

Perfection through Faith

Because Mennonites and Wesleyans have sometimes fallen into subjectivism and legalism, the extent to which Menno and Wesley stressed the objective quality of the work of God the Holy Spirit in the true church has tended to be obscured. Both men were keenly aware of the importance of the fruits of grace, and both constantly

6 *CW*, "The Cross of the Saints" (c. 1554), pp. 600-601.

pointed up the witness of the church in ethical awareness and moral sensitivity. But for neither are good works a proof positive of the presence of the Spirit: Christians go onward to goodness, but not all "good men" are Christians. Both would have agreed with Peter Taylor Forsyth's statement:

> The error at the root of all false ideas of perfection is this: it is rating our behaviour *before* God higher than our relation *to* God—putting conduct before faith, deeds before trust, work before worship. That is the root of all pharisaism, Romanism, paganism, and natural and worldly morality.
>
> It is because Christianity becomes identified with behaviour, with man's treatment of man, with humanism, philanthropy, humanity, with kindness and pity instead of grace. Humanity! Why, as Ibsen says, God was not humane to His own Son. We are not saved by the love we exercise, but by the Love we trust.
>
> Love is but faith in its supreme and perfect form.[7]

Any who are attracted to Mennonite or Wesleyan teaching on Christian perfection without comprehending the crisis of faith out of which the New Man is reborn have missed the crucial point, however much they may strive to obey some new law.

> Christianity is not the perfect religion in the sense of being revealed as a finished, rounded, symmetrical whole. . . . It is not a perfection of proportion, of harmony, of symmetry. That is the Greek, pagan idea of perfection; whereas in Christianity we enter the perfect life maimed.[8]

The harmony of the Christian is conformity to the will and grace of God, not to the circle or a plastic form. The perfection of the Christian is not symbolized by the beauty of Apollos but by the hard-fought faith of a dirty old Jew with a limp.

For Menno, the constancy of Jacob's faith is summed up in his sufferings for the faith.

> Just as the patriarch Jacob, for his external birthright and blessing, was hated and persecuted by his unspiritual, fierce, and adulterous brother Esau, so also is it at the present time with all those who after the Spirit are called after the name of Jacob, namely, the true Christians, those who in the power of the Holy Ghost through the medium of faith tread upon the devil, the world, the flesh, and blood. Thus it is with those who obtain the birthright recorded in heaven and are blessed through our true Isaac, Christ Jesus, with spiritual blessings in heavenly things unto eternal glory. They are angrily hated and persecuted unto death by their unspiritual, wild, and adulterous brothers, and must therefore flee from county to country, from city to city, under great oppression, want, and discomfort, in prison, in bonds; with hunger, with stripes, with water, fire, and sword, all the days of their lives, as may be seen.[9]

7 Peter Taylor Forsyth, *Christian Perfection* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d.). 68, 71, 5.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

9 *CW*, "The Cross of the Saints" (c. 1554), p. 589.

For John Wesley, the figure of Jacob is also central. He was especially devoted to the picture of wrestling Jacob, winning through to the blessing through agony and desperation. His brother Charles heralded the advent and work of faith in John's favorite hymn:

Come, Thou Traveller unkown,
Whom still I hold, but cannot see:
My company before is gone,
And I am left alone with thee:
With thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day.
I know thee, Saviour, who thou art,
Jesus, the feble sinner's Friend;
Nor wilt thou with the night depart,
But stay and love me to the end:
Thy mercies never shall remove;
Thy nature and thy name is Love.[10]

We are made perfect by faith. It is the same Spirit who converts, restores the broken relations, redeems and perfects His church.

The Witness of the Laity

Both Menno and Wesley, as representative Free Churchmen, had strong views on the expression of faith in positive discipline. In the process of lining out the fruits of faithfulness, both instituted ordinances and practices of voluntary discipline which have become the common property of many denominations neither "Mennonite" nor "Methodist" in name. In Anabaptism, the practice of spiritual government—ranging from brotherly sharing through brotherly admonition to the use of the ban in extreme cases—was cultivated. The "keys of Peter" (the authority to loose and to bind) and the "key of David" (the authority to unlock and apply Scripture) came to reside in the congregation of the faithful. In Wesley's plan, the class meeting was the instrument, the "spiritual hospital," where sick souls were healed and the sturdy made stronger in love. "The General Rules," which may become so legalistic and formal when no longer sustained by joy and faith in things to come, were but the outward expression of a discipleship made perfect in hope.

It is important for us, discussing the way in which the essential genius of the true church may be recaptured and reaffirmed, to be clear as to the method and style of decision-making among Christians. The sickness of our churches is that there is today so little binding address among them, so little of the disciplines of discipleship. In both of the traditions we are concerned with in this conference—and this distinguishes them immediately from major sections of Christendom (Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, Angli-

10 *The Methodist Hymnal* (1905), #511.

canism, Continental Lutheranism)—the matter of disciplined witness is a concern of the whole believing membership. In this time when so much is made in ecumenical circles of the "rediscovery of the laity," it is well to remember that Anabaptism and Wesleyanism were lay movements from the start. There were no "religious" set apart to be admired and to relieve the membership of their own duty to obey.

Luther and Zwingli began with the teaching that the Scriptures might be interpreted by all true believers who had through faith been empowered with the Spirit. When, however, men of their own following did just that and came to an earnestness which challenged the parish system, both reverted to another principle of authority.

> At the Bern Disputation the Anabaptists were told that they, as laymen, were not capable of dealing with theological matters. The sheep should not presume to teach the shepherd; they ought rather to go and look after their families and their trades, and leave the interpretation of the Scriptures to the educated.[11]

This was the characteristic position of state-church Protestantism, that authority and initiative and decision were reserved to the professionals—the theologians and canon lawyers. In contrast, the Anabaptists restored the New Testament pattern of decision-making—one in which the Holy Spirit, guiding and governing the church, created the consensus among the faithful.[12] It was not that each had his own autonomous conscience and personal interpretation; rather, the Bible was opened in the midst, and the way of discipleship was determined in the spirit of common prayer and brotherly discussion. This was not religious individualism, as though each were his own priest. Rather, the believer's duty was to bring his concern and judgment to the fellowship; the right of each was not a natural right to autonomy, it was a responsibility through grace to participate in the decision-making process. The approach to the use of the Bible was not through the right of private interpretation, but through the priesthood of all believers, rightly conceived. Another Free Churchman, John Owen by name, stated the responsibility of the laity in especially clear terms:

> . . . as this whole church-power is committed unto the whole church by Christ, so all that are called unto the peculiar exercise of any part of it, by virtue of office-authority, do receive that authority from him by the only way of the communication of it—namely, by his Word and Spirit, through the ministry of the church. . . .
>
> The church is a *voluntary society*. Persons otherwise absolutely

11 See the discussion by Walter Klaassen: "Word, Spirit and Scripture," *Mennonite Life,* XV (1960), 182-185, 184.

12 See "The Work of the Holy Spirit in Group Decisions,' *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XXXIV (1960), 75-96.

> free, as unto all the rules, laws and ends of such a society, do of their own wills and free choice coalesce into it. This is the original of churches. . . .
>
> The end of all particular churches is the edification of the *church catholic,* unto the glory of God in Christ. . . .[13]

The perfection which the Free Churchmen sought was the perfection of the church, the perfection of a people faithful to their trust. To this perfection belonged the baptism of believers, who responded to the Great Commission: the practice of church discipline, which the New Testament had commanded; the obedience of disciples who know no law for the Church but the living instructions of its Head.

The Restitution

The basic Free Church position was founded in the restitution of the true church, the church as she had existed in the New Testament and sub-apostolic age. Both Menno and Wesley referred regularly to the early Fathers, in the understanding of Christian perfection as in other matters. In Gregory of Nazianzus we find another clear statement of the work of the Spirit in renewing the church:

> . . . indeed from the Spirit comes our new birth, and from the new birth our new creation, and from the new creation our deeper knowledge of Him from whom it is derived.[14]

In Gregory the Great we find another statement of special pointedness, in reference to the role of the minister: "He must be first in action; and since he must teach the highest, he must exhibit the highest perfection."[15] The perfection of which he wrote was both spiritual and moral; in an age where the Christian leaders were striving to instill the mind of Christ into the life of a thoroughly corrupt imperial society and a barbarian tribal pattern, the moral accent was especially pronounced.

In all of these discussions, the essential matter was the perfection of the church—her role as a community of redemption, her work in proclaiming and witnessing to God's redemptive purpose in the world. For Christian perfection is a matter of discipleship, and discipleship is to accept joyously the disciplines which the Head of the Church proposes for the perfecting of His own. It is God the Holy Spirit who enables His own so to live—not as though they had already achieved the mark, but as those who carry the brand of divine approbation.

13 *The True Nature of a Gospel Church and Its Government . . . 1689* (London: James Clarke and Co., 1947), 44-45, 61, 127.

14 Cf. E. R. Hardy, ed., *The Christology of the Later Fathers* (Phila.: Westminster Press, 1954), (vol. III of the Library of Christian Classics) 211.

15 "St Gregory the Great: Pastoral Care," in Henry Davis, ed, *Ancient Christian Writers* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1950). 6.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL EMPHASES IN THE AMERICAN HOLINESS TRADITION

WILLIAM M. ARNETT*

Evangelical Christianity reached the summit of its power and influence in America during the last half of the nineteenth century. It was within this period that a movement arose which came to be known as the "Holiness Movement." Paradoxically, it was the decline of preaching on Christian perfection in the campmeetings of the Methodist Church which gave rise to this movement. On account of a deep concern over the situation, a group of thirteen Methodist ministers met in Philadelphia on June 13, 1867, and agreed to sponsor the first interdenominational holiness camp meeting. As a result, the first "National Camp-meeting for the Promotion of Christian Holiness" was held at Vineland, New Jersey, from July 17 to 26, 1867. This campmeeting is generally considered to be the beginning of the modern holiness movement in America. The National Holiness Association, which today embraces an affiliation of thirteen holiness denominations and approximately one and one-half million people in the United States, is a direct product of the movement which began in 1867. In April 1960, the 92nd Annual Convention of the Association was held in the city of Asheville, North Carolina.

THE WESLEYAN HERITAGE

It should be noted, however, that the modern Holiness Movement traces its spiritual lineage back to John Wesley and Methodism. The most distinctive of Wesley's doctrines was the emphasis upon Christian perfection or full sanctification. Indeed, no doctrinal statement was more definitely set forth by the founders of Methodism than that of entire sanctification as "a definite work of grace subsequent to regeneration."

Three important observations regarding John Wesley's concern for this particular doctrine can be noted at this point. The first is in the area of definition. Writing to Walter Churchey on February 21, 1771, Wesley said that "entire sanctification, or Christian perfection, is neither more nor less than pure love; love expelling sin, and governing both the heart and life of a child of God. The Refiner's fire purges out all that is contrary to love."[1] It should be observed that Wesley used the two terms—"entire sanctification" and "Christian perfection"—synonymously. The important conclusions stated in the

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1 John Telford, ed., *Letters of John Wesley* (8 vv., 1931), V, 223.

final edition (1777) of Wesley's famous treatise entitled "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection" were:

(1) There is such a thing as perfection; for it is again and again mentioned in Scripture.

(2) It is not so early as justification; for justified persons are to "go on unto perfection" (Heb. 6:1).

(2) It is not so late as death; for St. Paul speaks of living men that were perfect (Phil. 3:15).

(4) It is not absolute. Absolute perfection belongs not to man, nor to angels, but to God alone.

(5) It does not make a man infallible; none is infallible, while he remains in the body.

(6) Is it sinless? It is not worth while to contend for a term. It is "salvation from sin."

(7) It is "perfect love" (I John 4:18). This is the essence of it; its properties, or inseparable fruits, are: rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in everything giving thanks (I Thess. 5:16, etc.).

(8) It is improvable. It is so far from lying in an indivisible point, from being incapable of increase, that one perfected in love may grow in grace far more swiftly than he did before.

(9) It is amissible, capable of being lost; of which we have numerous instances. But we were not thoroughly convinced of this, till five or six years ago.

(10) It is constantly both preceded and followed by a gradual work.

(11) Is it instantaneous? "An instantaneous change has been wrought in some believers; non can deny this. . . . But in some this change was not instantaneous." In the latter case, however, "if ever sin ceases, there must be a last moment of its existence, and a first moment of our deliverance from it."[3]

The second observation is in the area of preaching. Again and again Wesley observed that the faithful preaching of this doctrine resulted in the flourishing of God's work generally, while its neglect resulted in the languishing of the work. The third observation is in the area of spiritual stewardship. Near the close of Wesley's long and eventful life, which nearly spanned the eighteenth century, he stated that the doctrine of full sanctification was "the grand depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly He appeared to have raised us up."[2]

In the nearly two centuries since the time of Wesley, the emphasis upon this doctrine waxed and waned in varying degrees. As in Wesley's day, the declaration of entire sanctification met with various vicissitudes, including opposition and religious fanaticism. It is a truism in religion that "neglect revenges itself in extremes," and the eventual decline in presenting this Scriptural truth has had a

2 *Letters*, VIII, p. 238.

3 Thomas Jackson, ed., *The Works of John Wesley, A.M.* (London, 1829), XI, 442.

manifold harvest. For example, it is pointed out by Elmer T. Clark[4] that "Methodism is directly or indirectly responsible for over fifty of the existing American sects," having a combined membership of over ten million persons. These various groups are officially Christian perfectionists in their doctrinal statements, and at least thirty of them still proclaim holiness as one of their central doctrines. While this indicates that large numbers of holiness people withdrew from Methodism, a fact not often stressed is that many lay people as well as preachers who espoused the holiness message remained with their church, notwithstanding the fact that the general drift of the Methodist Church, officially and educationally, was away from her original evangelistic genius and mission.

The National Holiness Association

For many years the National Holiness Association served largely to accommodate the many holiness ministers and laymen in the Methodist Church. The holiness camps throughout the country were supported mainly by Methodists. Gradually the Association took on more of an interdenominational character, and today there are thirteen holiness denominations which have affiliated with the N.H.A. and are working together for a united voice and fellowship with people of kindred minds and hearts.

Like the Christian Church in its essential spiritual nature, the Holiness Movement as expressed in the N.H.A. is not so much an organization as it is an organism. The cohesive factor is a clearly defined spiritual reality which flows out of a clearly defined experience. In more recent years the Association has adopted a Statement of Doctrine which comprises eight areas of belief, as follows:[5]

Statement of Doctrine

We Believe:

1. That both Old and New Testaments constitute the divinely inspired Word of God, inerrant in the originals, and the final authority for life and faith.

2. That there is one God, eternally existing in the Holy Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, each with personality and Deity.

3. That the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, manifested in the flesh through the Virgin Birth, died on Calvary for the redemption of the human family, all of whom may be saved from sin through faith in Him.

4. That man, although created by God in His own image and likeness, fell into sin through disobedience and "so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Rom. 5:12).

4 Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (revised edition, N.Y., 1949), 59.
5 Harry E. Jessop, *We the Holiness People—The Things We Believe and Teach* (Chicago, 1948), 7-8.

4. In the salvation of the human soul, including the new birth, and in a subsequent work of God in the heart, a crisis, wrought by faith, whereby the heart is cleansed from all sin and filled with the Holy Spirit. This gracious experience is retained by faith as expressed in a constant obedience to God's revealed will, thus giving us perfect cleansing moment by moment (I John 1:7-9). We stand for the Wesleyan position.

6. That the Church is the body of Christ, that all who are united by faith to Christ are members of the same, and that, having thus become members one of another, it is our solemn and covenant duty to fellowship with one another in peace, and to love one another with a pure and fervent heart.

7. That our Lord Jesus Christ in His literal resurrection from the dead is the living guarantee of the resurrection of all human beings: the believing saved to conscious eternal joy, and the unbelieving lost to conscious eternal punishment.

8. That our Lord Jesus Christ, in fulfillment of His own promise, both angelically and apostolically attested, will personally return in power and great glory.

Clarification of Belief

It has been necessary to guard the teaching concerning holiness from erroneous ideas and teaching. Dr. C. J. Fowler, a member of the New Hampshire Methodist Conference and a leader of the National Holiness Association for over a quarter of a century, gave helpful clarification relative to the experience and life of holiness. His statements were recently published in a book by Dr. Harry E. Jessop entitled *We the Holiness People—The Things We Believe and Teach.* The book is endorsed and recommended by the Association. Dr. Fowler sought to accentuate the positive teaching by first calling attention to the "negatives," or what holiness people do not teach, as follows:[6]

1. We do not teach an absolute perfection—a perfection admitting of no advance or improvement, like that God has—but a Christian perfection; which is nothing other than perfect love. This is what God provides for all, and commands in all. "Be ye therefore perfect." Matt. 5:48. "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded." Phil. 3:15.

2. We do not teach that sanctified, or perfect, Christians cannot sin. They may. Therefore all should take heed. "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation." Matt. 26:41. "Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." I Cor. 10:12.

3. We do not teach that sanctified Christians cannot be tempted. They may be, and are, and that severely. Jesus was tempted, and none of his people will be exempt. "He himself hath suffered being tempted." Heb. 2:18. "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." Matt. 10:24.

4. We do not teach that sanctified Christians make no mistakes. A mistake in practice results from an error in judgment; and since

6 Jessop, *op cit.*, pp. 9-11.

human judgment is imperfect, a mistake is bound to follow. But this is an involuntary wrong, and is not charged up against one bceause of one's not knowing better. "Sin is not imputed when there is no law." Rom. 5:13.

5. We do not teach that a sanctified Christian has no thoughts of sin. A thought of sin is not a sinful thought. A thought of sin is the thinking of what goes on about one in this wicked world (Jesus constantly thought of sin and was constantly condemning it); while a sinful thought is that which springs up from the evil within. One is external, while the other is internal; one cannot be helped, while the other can be. "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the ussues of life." Prov. 4:23.

6. We do not teach that one's life can be such that all will think of it as above all reproach. This would be to get beyond Jesus Christ, who was censured for eating "with publicans and sinners." He himself said, "It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord." Matt. 10:25.

On the positive side, Fowler sets forth seven points under the heading, "What We Do Teach":

1. We teach that regeneration does not allow the committing of conscious sin. "Whosoever is born of God doeth not commit sin." I John 3:9. "He that committeth sin is of the devil." I John 3:8.

2. We teach that all Christians may love God perfectly, and this God commands. "Jesus said unto him, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.'" Matt. 22:37.

3. We teach that this is impossible while there is any pride, anger, self-will, unbelief, malice, fear, or any form of wrongness in the heart. All such are contrary to the nature of love; so wherever any of these are, love is not perfect, and cannot be. "There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love." I John 4:18.

4. We teach that God is both willing and able to remove all evil affections from the heart, and thus enable love to be unhindered. "And the Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart." Deut. 30:6.

5. We teach that the cleansing of the heart from all indwelling evil is effected by the incoming of the Holy Ghost, in His fullness, who then abides. "And, behold, I send the promise of My Father upon you." Luke 24:39. "And when the day of Pentecost was fully come . . . they were all filled with the Holy Ghost." Acts 2:1, 4. "God . . . put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith." Acts 15:8, 9. "Be filled with the Spirit." Eph. 5:18.

6. We teach that the heart thus cleansed and possessed will grow in all Christian graces better than ever, since sin, the greatest hindrance to growth, hase been removed. "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom . . . singing with grace in your heart to the Lord." Col. 3:16. "But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." II Peter 3:18.

7. We teach that this is the great secret of Christian living. All Christians want to keep from sinning; this is the Divine plan. "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin

might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin." Rom. 6:6.

At one of the recent annual conventions of the National Holiness Association, a study group explored the doctrine of sin as an underlying element of Scripture. The important conclusions in the formulation of the doctrinal statement are here noted, since "without a proper view of the nature of sin, there could not be the right interpretation of the doctrine of redemption." Due to the significant theological emphases and distinctions in the report, it is included here in detail.

"The Doctrine of Sin"

The doctrine of sin must be viewed in the light of man's unfallen and of his redeemed state, if a correct position on sin is to be found. "In the beginning" God created man in His own image, that is qualitatively holy and morally pure. Adam the First was a perfect man, equipped with powers and capacities to remain holy and perfect but also with the power of choice to forfeit his first estate and corrupt his nature.

Sin seems to have arisen in Adam by a self-chosen separation from God, producing *guilt* in his conscience, moral *corruption* in his spiritual nature, and *death* eventually in his body. Adam's posterity received from him this moral corruption. But if there be any of Adam's guilt (for this self-originated depravity) imputed to his posterity, it is canceled by Christ's atoning work.

In Adam, as in all his posterity (save one, Jesus Christ), sin takes a two-fold form: *acts* and *principle.* The former is self-chosen behavior, and the latter an inherited bias (or bent) toward evil. There is this fundamental difference between Adam's sin problem and that of his descendants: whereas Adam began his life in this world with a pure nature and his voluntary wrong *act* produced a wrong *state* or *condition,* every other human *(save one)* begins with a wrong *state,* a depraved nature, and then *acts* wrongfully when he follows his corrupted *nature.*

Man created in the image of God had both an essential or natural likeness to Him and also a moral likeness to Him. The natural image, constituted by his intelligent, immortal spirit, was not forfeited in the Fall; but the moral image, constituted by original holiness, was lost by Adam's original sin. Man's capacities as man at the essential-image level are amoral; it is the quality of the moral image that constitutes man sinful, unholy, depraved. Careful distinctions must be made between sin as a corruption of man's moral nature and the consequences of sin which scar rational and bodily aspects of man's being. Diseases and the scars they leave upon the human body are carefully distinguished by medical science; likewise to be distinguished are sin's existence in the heart and its lingering *effects* even after the heart has been cleansed.

The inherited depravity is total in the sense that it touches and taints all of man's personality, but not *total* in the sense that any one is born into the world as corrupt as he is capable of becoming. The former is total depravity *extensively* viewed; but the latter is

the *intensive* view. By heredity we are extensively depraved but not intensively; by final apostacy we make ourselves intensively depraved.

Having recognized man as sinful by nature, and a sinner by practice, your committe also recognized that the three *channels,* through which men actually sin are: thoughts, words, and deeds. These sins may fall within these categories: 1) sins of transgression; 2) sins of omission; 3) sins of presumption; 4) sins of suspicion; and 5) sins of ignorance. With this classification of sins, it is apparent that as one moves from the first to the fifth categories, sins become increasingly subjective and personal—increasingly an individual relationship between the soul and God, conditioned upon each person's knowledge, conscience and faith.

It was further recognized that there is a progressive unfolding through the Scriptures of the nature of sin and ways of sinning, just as there is an ever-advancing disclosure within the Bible of the nature of God and His ways of acting.

In the Old Testament there is a very clear and careful distinction made between sins of ignorance and wilful transgression, between good and evil intentions, as instanced by "the cities of refuge." For wilful transgression of the decalogue, the generally recommended treatment was the death sentence (Ex. 21), whereas for sins of ignorance, the sin offering and the trespass offerings were made (Lev. 3-5). When viewed chronologically (as nearly as that can be ascertained), the Old Testament writings seem to reflect an ever-increasing disclosure of the bias to sin in man's nature and of the varied ways in which he commits sins.

When coming to the New Testament doctrine of sin, it was found that Jesus, Paul, and John clearly sustain the distinction between sin as a *soul-current* toward evil and as *conduct* into which men enter either by thought, word, or deed. While there is a clear recognition of infirmities of body and mind remaining after justification and entire sanctification, yet the main thrust of the New Testament is to define *sin,* when it refers to conduct, within narrower, and perhaps deeper reaches, than in the Old Testament. While "sin is the transgression of the law" (I John 3:4), "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin" continuous action—I John 3:9) because the born-again entirely-sanctified believer lives under the dominion of the love of God shed abroad in his heart and thereby fulfills the requirements of the divine law for him in this life—"For he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law . . . love is the fulfilling of the law." (Rom. 13:8, 10).

Whereas "Adam the First" was humanly perfect in his original faculties, redeemed men in this life are humanly imperfect and therefore must express their love through bodily and mental instruments which have suffered under the Fall. God's original standard for Adam's conduct was that of conformity inwardly and outwardly to His perfect law. But under the economy of grace, God requires an inward conformity to His law, even though the outward realization of it is impossible until the consequences of Adam's sin (and also of his descendants' and each individual's sins) are removed in eternal glorification.

Whereas Adam before the Fall maintained the standard of God's perfect law, outwardly and inwardly applied, the justified and entirely sanctified man does not reach this standard outwardly until he

reaches the perfection of eternity. However, that margin between the levels of grace realizable in this life and the perfection of Eden behind us, and of Eternity before us, is covered by the blood of Christ, sin not being imputed to us where there is no law in force. The Edenic law is not *now* in force, except in its spirit, namely "to love God with all the heart, soul, mind and strength," but the evangelical law of love is binding upon us today.

Balancing "imputation" with "impartation" emphases, there is no imputation of the sins of ignorance (one class of shortcomings so labeled in the Old Testament) to men as sin, and therefore as condemnable and as guilt-producing. They may produce grievous results, but the motive behind each act determines its moral badness or goodness.

Therefore, be it known by this report that those delegates studying the "doctrine of sin" are strongly persuaded that sin must be defined in the New Testament meaning of the term if we are to be saved from moral confusion, and if, without condemnation, we are to confess the "blessed assurance" of sins forgiven, of living above the continuing practice of known sinning, and of a heart cleansed from all enmity against God, so as to love Him with all the heart, soul, mind, and strength.[7]

Current Terminology Usage

The Holiness Movement, like other doctrinal groups, has a distinctive phraseology, which is strictly Biblical, being either the words of Scripture or phrases suggested by Scripture. Among the expressions used are the terms "Christian perfection" and "perfect love." A qualifying adjective is added to the first term in order to define or specify the nature of perfection. The word "perfect," however, despite all definitions, has continued to be the ground of controversy, largely due to misunderstanding of the thought centent which the word is used to express. As a result, the critics of the teaching have chosen to call it "sinless perfection"—a term that neither John Wesley nor present-day holiness people use. The connotation of the term is that there is no more possibility or capability of sinning. Holiness people have always insisted there is a vast distinction between "being not able to sin" and "being able not to sin." Therefore, on account of its dimensions and stringency, "sinless perfection" is becoming of only one who trod the earth—the Lord Jesus Christ. In the Holiness Movement the doctrine is narrowly defined, and the qualifying adjective "Christian" is always necessary. As Daniel Steele points out,[8] it involves only the impulsive conscience, not the discriminative conscience. Hence perfection may only be predicated of motives, purpose, intention and never of action, performance, or conduct. Steele sees this as the basis for the Wesleyan

7 Statement of the 87th Annual Convention of the National Holiness Association at Dayton, Ohio, drawn up on April 16, 1955. Reported by Delbert R. Rose. The statement is unpublished.

8 Daniel Steele, *Mile-Stone Papers* (New York, 1876), 133.

paradox that entire sanctification is both instantaneous and gradual —instantaneous as to the impulsive power imparted to the conscience; gradual in regard to the discriminating power of the moral sense through exercise. This twofold aspect of holiness is commanded in II Cor. 7:1: "Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse (aorist tense, i.e., definite action) ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh, and spirit, perfecting (present tense, i.e., continuing process) holiness in the fear of God."

Perhaps on account of the controversy which has been waged about the term "perfection," there has been a shift in terminology in the Holiness Movement, generally speaking, and from the whole portfolio of New Testament terms, greater usage is made in our day of "sanctification," "holiness," "purity," or "filled" and "fullness," especially as related to the Holy Spirit's ministry in the Christian. "These represent a whole range of teaching that is concerned with what God does with us *after* we gain entrance into the community of the redeemed and *before* we are translated to the community of the glorified." More and more emphasis is being made of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the whole range of His ministry to the saved as well as to the unsaved.

Likewise less use is being made of the term "eradication" in the Holiness Movement. The value of the term "eradication" is that it indicates a conviction that sin is completely extirpated and eliminated. Obviously it is a figurative expression, and is intended to emphasize the distinction between root and fruit, between sin as a principle and sin as an act. However, the difficulty is in the materialistic connotation or suggestion the term implies, and therefore it poses in the minds of people the question how sin once rooted out can enter again. It is for this reason that there is increased usage of such terms as "cleansing" and "crucifixion" in expressing the deliverance from carnality or inbred sin, since these words are more Biblical.

The Relevancy of Psychology

It may be observed also that recognition is being made of the relevancy of psychology in relation to the holiness message. This is an area in which considerable training and orientation is needed, and in which the writer confesses his limitations. The psychological "concept of integration," in which the emotional attitudes are harmonized and directed to one end, giving life a dominant purpose, surely resembles John Wesley's definition of Christian perfection in

"loving God with all our heart and serving him with all our strength." In order words, holiness means "wholeness," or as it would be expressed psychologically, an "integrated personality."

In that connection it is recognized that "self-centeredness" is the universal hindrance in personality integration. The realization of true personality is in self-sacrifice with an emphasis upon doing things with and for others, and not in self-gratification. In the message of Christian sanctity there has been an insistence that life's true meaning is bound up with the teaching of Jesus that "he that saveth his life shall lose it," but "he that loseth his life for my sake shall keep it unto life eternal." Even the basic human instincts—the self instinct, the herd instinct, and the sex instinct—which are part and parcel of our human life after saving and sanctifying grace, are brought under the control of a higher power and are thus helpfully and creatively released and employed.

Obviously this only touches a part of a large area, but indicates the full-orbedness of the message of Christian holiness or "wholeness" in meeting life's basic problems. It is a recognition as well as a realization that "in the collective Christian mind that comes to light in the Epistles one does not find a sin-fixation but a Christ-fixation. Not the incurable persistence of carnality but the illimitable triumph of Calvary! Not *sin* reigns but *grace* reigns!"[9] Indeed, "if there is subtle peril in too much preoccupation with one's own holiness (and there is!)," there is as much danger in too much preoccupation with our confessed sinfulness. It has been the burden and, at the same time, the glory of the holiness movement, that while spelling "Sin" with a capital "S," as Dr. Clark states, the final words are not "sin" and defeat, but "grace" and victory.

In the light of the Biblical message, some view of holiness must be taken. While the Christian Church has given varied interpretations to this phase of Christian truth, the divine command, "Be ye holy for I am holy," leaves no doubt about the Christian's vocation, "for God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness."

9 Paul S. Rees, *Prayer and Life's Highest* (Grand Rapids, 1957), 90. The following quotation is from the same page.

SOME ANABAPTIST VIEWS ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

WALTER KLAASSEN*

When we speak about the Holy Spirit in Anabaptist thought we deal with something that was at the very heart of their theology. Without their strong belief in the reality of the Holy Spirit and His work their whole position would have been a lifeless legalism and their claim to be a restitution New Testament Christianity would have lacked its main justification. That this had nothing to do with enthusiastic inspirationism is demonstrated by the tremendous importance Pilgram Marpeck attached to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and he was certainly the most conservative of all the Swiss and South German Anabaptists on this point. All this is not to imply that the Anabaptists were the only ones to make much of the Spirit. So did Luther, and especially Zwingli and his fellow Reformers. But because of their adherence to the institutional church very much in its traditional form, the Reformers were forced to quench the Spirit. They were bound by the shackles of ecclesiasticism, and did not really have freedom to act.

The Anabaptists had various ideas about the Holy Spirit, and were by no means unanimous in their approach to the doctrine. Consequently we cannot really speak of *the* Anabaptist doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the sense of an official position held by all. It can be said, however, that on the main points there was a surprising agreement, surprising when one remembers how disparate were the origins of, for example, the Swiss Brethren and the Hut tradition. Of the tremendous volume of material available for analysis one can clearly use only a small fraction for so short a treatment. Consequently this essay does not claim to be exhaustive or even complete. Nevertheless even from this there emerge some explanations for the extraordinarily vital character of Anabaptist Christianity.

The Anabaptists never questioned the orthodox Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and for the most part made no abstract theological statements about it. But there are a few such statements, and it is worthwhile taking a look at at least one of them. An attempt at an actual theological formulation of the doctrine is found in Peter Riedemann's *Confession.* In it he writes:

> We acknowledge him [the Holy Spirit] with the Father and the Son to be God. The names are three, but there is but one God. . . . For even as fire, heat, and light are three names and yet one

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> substance, one nature and essence, even so are God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three names and yet one being. And even as fire, heat, and light do not separate or depart one from the other . . . even so the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Therefore where one of them is, there they are all three; but whosoever hath one of them not, lacketh all three. For as little as one can take heat and light from fire and yet leave fire, even so and still less can one take the Son and Holy Spirit from the Father.[1]
>
> The Holy Spirit comes from the Father and the Son or from the Truth and the Word. But as the Son or the Word proceedeth from the Father and yet remaineth in Him, the Holy Spirit proceedeth from them both and remaineth in them both for ever and ever.[2]

Although this is really a statement about the Trinity it is written with the Holy Spirit especially in mind. It is in full keeping with the classic Christian definition in, for example, the Nicene Creed, showing that the Holy Spirit is one of the persons of the Trinity, true God. Later on in the *Confession* Riedemann explains the Trinity as God's self-revelation. "Therefore the Word showeth us what the Father requireth and demandeth. And what the same showeth, the Holy Spirit accomplisheth with effectual power."[3] God the Father had a purpose to accomplish. Through the Son Jesus Christ this purpose and will were made known, and the Holy Spirit brings this purpose to fruition in the believer. There is little doubt that most Anabaptists would have agreed with this.

When Anabaptists wrote about the work of the Holy Spirit they used Biblical language. Frequently the very order of the words betrays the source of the idea as in a writing of Marpeck in the *Kunstbuch.* "The Lord Jesus Himself works in us . . . reigns, guides, and leads us through His Holy Spirit into all the truth of His divine will and pleasure."[4] Evidence like this could fill a book. The important thing is that because Biblical language is used, the lack of distinction between Jesus Christ and the Spirit as it appears especially in the writings of Paul is also reflected in Anabaptist writings. In Marpeck's *Von der Menschheit Christi* Holy Spirit and Christ are frequently used synonymously. In another place he equates Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Speaking about the word which Christ speaks into the inner ears of believers he says that this word and Spirit is God and Christ Himself.[5] This practice is also

1 Peter Rideman, *Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith,* trans. Kathleen E. Hasenberg (Bungay, Suffolk, 1950), p. 37. Hereafter referred to as *Confession.*

2 *Ibid.,* p. 36.

3 *Ibid.,* p. 187.

4 *Kunstbuch,* 158a. Microfilm copy. Original in Burgerbibliothek, Bern, shelf no. Cod. 464; hereafter referred to *KB.*

5 *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen Taufgesinnten im 16. Jahrhundert. Pilgram Marbecks Antwort auf Kaspar Schwenckfelds Beurteilung des Buches der Bundesbezeugung von 1542,* ed. J. Loserth (Vienna and Leipzig, 1929), 516 (hereafter referred to as *V*).

found among the Swiss Brethren, particularly as reflected in the *Täuferakten.* If pressed on this matter they would perhaps have said that Jesus Christ is present and works in the believer through His Spirit. The important thing for them was not a fine theological distinction in an abstract sense, but the reality of the Holy Spirit in their own lives. This accounts for the fact that much is said about the work of the Holy Spirit.

The centrality of the Holy Spirit and His work in Anabaptist thought finds expression at an important point in their covenant theology—the new covenant is marked especially by the gift of the Holy Spirit to every believer. The earliest document of Anabaptist separatism, the letter of Conrad Grebel and the Brethren in Zürich to Thomas Müntzer of September 1524, already testifies to this conviction. In the Old Testament the word of God was written on tablets like those which Müntzer had erected, but in the New it is written in the fleshy tablets of the heart. The reference here is unmistakable. The words are from II Cor. 3:3, which in turn go back to the announcement of the new covenant in Jer. 31:33 and Joel 2:28.[6] At the Bern Disputation in 1538 the Swiss Brethren again expressed their belief that the possession of the Spirit was the chief mark of the new covenant.

> Thus the essence and the usage in the old and new covenants is not the same. . . . That the ancients had the Gospel preached to them as with us today we cannot admit. . . . Thus the old obedience of the Law is not to be compared with the new obedience of the Spirit. . . . [They] are not against each other, but each in its own place.[7]

The ancients had the promise and all that went with it, but they did not have the order of a Christian life.[8]

The Hut tradition, and this, in the writer's view, includes the Hutterites, adopted the same point of view. To be sure, Hut and those whom he influenced held that there was only one covenant, an eternal one,[9] and they rarely used the terms "old" and "new" covenant, in order to avoid giving the impression that they held to the idea of two parallel covenants. The "old" one is the covenant of servitude and the "new" and abiding one is the covenant of sonship and liberty, but the mark of the latter is the Holy Spirit. Riede-

6 *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz,* Vol. I, *Zürich,* ed. L. von Muralt und W. Schmid (Zürich, 1952), pp. 16-17 (hereafter referred to as *MS* I).

7 *Acta des Gesprächs zwüschen predicannten Vnnd Touffbruoderenn Erganngen, Inn der Statt Bernn, 1538,* pp. 228-229. Microfilm of typewritten copy in Goshen College Library, Goshen, Ind. Original in Burgerbibliothek, Bern.

8 *Ibid.,* pp. 59, 220.

9 *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter,* Vol. I, ed. Lydia Mueller (Leipzig 1938), p. 21 (hereafter referred to as *GZ* I); *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer,* Vol. II, *Markgraftum Brandenburg,* Part I, *Bavaria,* ed. K. Schornbaum (Leipzig, 1934), p. 186 (hereafter referred to as *TA* II); *Confession,* p. 63.

mann writes in his *Confession:* "The old covenant, *in so far as it is called old,* is that which was given to Israel without the pouring out of the Spirit of grace." Then he discusses the new covenant which he calls

> a covenant of grace, the revelation and knowledge of God. This knowledge, however, cometh alone from the receiving of the Holy Spirit. . . .[10] The service of the new covenant is not a service of the letter, but a spiritual service, performed in the strength of the Spirit of Christ.[11]

The strongest proponent of this position was Pilgram Marpeck. He not only rejected the idea of a single covenant but posited a radical discontinuity between old and new covenants. The basis for his position is that for him the Holy Spirit in His New Testament manifestation was not present in the old covenant.[12] There was no doubt a Spirit in the old covenant and He was the same Holy Spirit of God as is present today, but in the manner of His working there is no resemblance between old and new covenants. The Spirit who gives the gifts of the Spirit, the Spirit who comforts, and the Spirit who leads into all truth was not present in the old covenant.[13] This Spirit came at Pentecost and before that even the disciples had an unspirited understanding as is clear from their frequently voiced misconceptions about the nature of Christ's mission and kingdom.[14] Only with the Holy Spirit of Christ did the law of love make its appearance, for only through this Spirit can it be fulfilled.[15] The Holy Spirit is, in the view of these prominent Anabaptist leaders, the very essence of the new covenant. It is no wonder that they talked frequently about the Spirit, for they considered themselves to be the true succession of the New Testament church in which this had also clearly been the case. It is very interesting to read in this connection Emil Brunner's book, *The Misunderstanding of the Church,* in which he expresses the view that the Holy Spirit's presence in the fellowship of the early church was its distinguishing mark.[16]

It was the common conviction among Anabaptists that the Holy Spirit is the life giver. Without Him there would be no new birth. Only the Spirit makes alive, we hear a simple Anabaptist in Bern

10 *Confession,* pp. 66-68.

11 *Ibid.,* p. 97.

12 *V,* p. 295.

13 *Gedenkschrift zum 400-jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten 1525-1925* (Ludwigshafen, 1925), p. 231 (hereafter referred to as *Verm*).

14 *V,* 302.

15 (Pilgrim Marpeck), *Testamentserleutterung* (n.p., n.d.), CXLV (hereafter referred to as *TE*).

16 Emil Brunner, *Das Missverständnis der Kirche* (Zürich, 1951), pp. 53-62.

confess during an interrogation.[17] Without the Spirit there can be no conviction of sins forgiven, for He convicts men of sin. The Spirit makes the Word, when it is read or preached, alive, and thus produces faith, writes Balthasar Hubmaier in 1525.[18] Only he who has had the new law written in his heart by the Spirit is justified, we read in the writings of Hans Denck. This is the reception of the new covenant.[19] We meet with the same insistence in the Hut tradition. The Spirit makes alive the Word that is heard and produces a justifying faith.[20] As one would expect, Peter Riedemann has something to contribute here too. He declares:

> [The] Spirit maketh us one with God, so that through His working we thus become incorporated into and partakers of the divine nature and character. And this His work . . . we experience within ourselves in truth and power in the renewing of our heart.[21]

"It is this Spirit," he writes in another place, "that leadeth to sonship—through his own working and inspiration in man."[22] The Spirit alone performs the miracle of the new birth in man and thus unites man with God. Similarly, in a letter to the Swiss Brethren in 1542, Marpeck says that God's children are born of the Holy Spirit,[23] and nothing else can bring about this new birth.

Not only is the Holy Spirit responsible for accomplishing the new birth, but in the baptism of the Spirit He is also Himself given to those who believe. The reception of the Spirit follows upon the hearing of the Word, which produces faith, and upon water baptism. Hans von Horb, a simple Anabaptist in Zürich, implied that the Spirit was given in baptism, which could only follow upon faith, and that the baptism of infants was not sufficient for this.[24] St. Paul, writes Riedemann, only received the Spirit after he had heard the Word preached to him by Ananias, and the same was true of Cornelius.[25] Marpeck is almost monotonously emphatic on the point that the Spirit is not given except through the external ministry of preaching.[26] The same thing is clearly stated in a tract by Leopold Scharnschlager found in the *Kunstbuch*.[27] Riedemann and Marpeck both agree that the baptism with water is a necessary condition for

17 *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation 1521-1532*, ed. R. Steck und G. Tobler (Bern, 1923), II, 1041.

18 Balthasar Hubmaier, *Von dem Christenlichen Tauff der glaubigen* (n.p., 1525), biiij.

19 *Hans Denck Schriften*, Vol. II: *Religiöse Schriften*, ed. W. Fellmann (Gütersloh, 1956), p. 59 (hereafter referred to as *Schriften*).

20 *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte*, Vol. IV; *Wiedertäuferakten 1527-1626*, ed. G. Franz (Marburg, 1951), p. 45 (hereafter referred to as *TA Hesse*).

21 *Confession*, 37-38.

22 *Ibid.*, 96; Cf. 77 and *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder*, ed. A. J. F. Zieglschmid (Philadelphia, 1943), 177.

23 *KB*, 34.

24 *MS* I, 309.

25 *Confession*, 178.

26 *V*, 529. Cf. *TE*, XCVIII.

27 *KB*, 258b.

the baptism with the Holy Spirit. As Riedemann says in his *Confession:* "As John was a messenger and forerunner of Christ, so is the baptism of water a forerunner of the baptism of the Spirit."[28]

When the Spirit has entered a life the work of sanctification begins. Sin is no longer allowed to rule in such a life.[29] Riedemann again sums the matter up:

> In God we have absolute certainty that He hath drawn our heart to Him and made it His dwellingplace, and removed and cut out from our heart evil, sin, and the lust to sin, so that he hath made our heart hang upon His word, to seek, love, and with diligence to hear, and not only to hear but also to keep and with all diligence to follow the same. But all this doeth and worketh in us, we believe, the one Holy Spirit.[30]

Hans Denck repeatedly returns to this theme. "Where this covenant is," he writes, "the Spirit of Christ comes and ignites the fire of love, which quite consumes the dross, and completes the work of Christ."[31] As long as there is unrighteousness in man, the Holy Spirit works to overcome it.[32] Similarly, Jacob Dachser wrote that the Holy Spirit is sent into the heart to cleanse it of all thorns and thistles, that is to say, of all that opposes God.[33]

Basing their ideas on the words of St. Paul, the Anabaptists believed that the Holy Spirit takes control of the life of the man who believes and is baptized. This was the ground of the almost unbelievable confidence that was such an outstanding characteristic of those early pioneers in the faith. Before the separation took place in Zürich, at the second Disputation in 1523, Simon Stumpf set the authority of the Spirit of God over against that of the city council. "Master Ulrich," he said, "You have not the authority to put this decision into their hands, for the verdict has already been given: the Spirit of God decides."[34] This appeal to the authority of the Spirit was heard many times after that in thousands of interrogations of Anabaptists throughout the German-speaking lands. Because he was a servant of God, said Rudolf Hottinger of Zürich, he was bound to follow the direction of the Holy Spirit.[35] Almost the same words were used by a fellow prisoner: being a servant of God called for unquestioning obedience to the direction of the Spirit.[36] The writings of the Hut tradition show the same emphasis. Those that have

28 *Confession,* 75, 175; *V,* 70.
29 *Confession,* 40.
30 *Ibid.,* 38.
31 *Schriften,* 24. Cf. 93.
32 *Ibid.,* p. 97.
33 Jacob Dachser, *Ein göttlich und gründtlich Offenbarung von den warhafftigen Widertäuffern* (n.p., 1527), fol. Db.
34 Huldreich Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. E. Egli *et al* (Leipzig, 1914-1958), Vol. II, 784.
35 *MS* I, p. 43.
36 *Ibid.,* p. 40.

received the Cross of Christ are ruled by the Spirit of Christ, writes Hut himself.[37] The letters of Jacob Hutter are full of references to the Holy Spirit's guidance.[38] The days of his ministry were for the most part dark and anxious days as his letters so vividly reveal. Since in time of persecution the outward stays and supports of the faith are often absent, he writes to the church in Moravia, it is important to know that the Holy Spirit rules and guides all those who desire it. "Blessed is he for whom this light shines; he will not fall nor be confounded even in the night."[39] The rule of the Spirit in man is equated by Riedemann with the image of God spoken of in Genesis 1:27:

> So long therefore as man liveth and walketh in truth and in obedience to God, suffering the Spirit to rule, lead and control him, so long hath he and so long doth he bear God's likeness. As soon, however, as he forsaketh the same and suffereth the flesh to control and drive him, he casteth from him God's likeness.[40]

From this follows that there can be no godly life unless the Spirit rules that life and is the motivation for all that it does. In Marpeck we have this assertion quite as strong as elsewhere among Anabaptists. The true ruler of the Christian is the Holy Spirit.[41] Every Christian receives a full measure of this Spirit so that he does not need to say or do anything except as prompted and motivated by the Holy Spirit within.[42]

But to speak only in individual terms is to do injustice to the Anabaptists. They, like the primitive church, could conceive of no individual Christianity. The church was for them the most important thing upon this earth. Nor is this church merely something extra added to the personal and individual experience, for the work of the Spirit in the individual believer is at the same time the Spirit at work building and gathering the church. The church is not the product of man's effort. Listen to the words of Riedemann:

> The children of God, however, become His children through the unifying Spirit. Thus, it is evident that the church is gathered together by the Holy Spirit; also that she hath being and is kept in being by Him, and that there is no other church apart from that which the Holy Spirit buildeth and gathereth.[43]

God uses men to gather others to His church, but these men must have the Spirit of Christ, otherwise they are not building the true church.[44]

37 *GZ* I, 35.
38 Hans Fischer, *Jacob Huter, Leben, Frömmigkeit, Briefe* (Newton, 1956), pp. 53, 65.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
40 *Confession*, p. 53.
41 *KB*, pp. 40a-41b.
42 *KB*, 158b. Cf. T. W. Röhrich, *Zur Geschichte der strassburgischen Wiedertäufer in den Jahren 1527 bis 1543* (1843), 56; and *KB*, 167 a.
43 *Confession*, p. 39. Cf. *TA Hesse*, p. 276.
44 *Confession*, p. 41.

The consciousness of having been united in a fellowship by the Holy Spirit is also voiced repeatedly by Marpeck. The *Vermanung* states that the church is gathered and built by the Holy Spirit.[45] In this fellowship, the Spirit who gathered it, rules. Again we can let Riedemann speak for the rest of Anabaptism:

> Therefore is such a people, community, assembly or church gathered and led together by the Holy Spirit which from henceforth ruleth, controlleth and ordereth everything in her, leading all her members to be of one mind and intention . . . as one body with Him, one plant, one tree, bearing and giving one kind of fruit.[46]

Christians are a fellowship by virtue of possessing, or being possessed of, the Spirit of Christ, writes Hans Denck. What concerns one concerns all, and all together do the will of God under the direction of the Holy Spirit.[47] Pilgram Marpeck further grapples with the problem of discipline in the church and warns that exclusion as a disciplinary measure is the prerogative of the Holy Spirit.

> Those who are driven by the Spirit of God are the children of God. As one cannot command or forbid the Holy Spirit of God, so one cannot command or forbid His children. The Holy Spirit alone can command or forbid.[48]

Both the Swiss Brethren and the Hutterites were very quick to judge fellow members, sometimes on the most trivial matters. Marpeck denies them the right to do so. Christ Himself orders and forbids through His Holy Spirit. Only the Spirit can exclude a believer from the fellowship of the church.[49] Purely human judgment is excluded in the fellowship since it is normally selfish in its motives. The same Spirit in all *must* lead to agreement. That this was not always the case among Anabaptists easily led to suspicions that the contrary-minded did not have the Spirit. Such charges were by no means uncommon.

The Holy Spirit was for them also the revealer of all truth. Thus we have among the Swiss Brethren frequent use of the term *Erleuchtung,* illumination. This illumination is attributed to the Holy Spirit. Where before there was darkness there is now light.[50] Again and again the Holy Spirit is given credit for revealing the marvellous truths of redemption to men.[51] The function of the Holy Spirit, the Brethren explained at the Zofingen Disputation in 1532, was something known to the New Testament Church, and . . . it

45 *Verm.*, p. 232.
46 *Confession*, p. 38. Cf. *TA* II, 38.
47 *Schriften*, p. 47.
48 *KB*, 7a. Letter of 1544.
49 *Ibid.*, 52a. Cf. 151a, 34b.
50 *MS* I, 69, 119.
51 *TA* II, 246; *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, Vol. IV: *Baden und Pfalz*, ed. M. Krebs (Gütersloh, 1951), 139.

must be taken seriously now as well. It is possible for a man to have a revelation as in I Corinthians, chapter 14, since all Christians must be taught of God, but they deny that they traffic with unbridled revelationism of the purely subjective kind.[52] Their appeal is constantly to the New Testament pattern of things, which they feel is sufficient safeguard against excess. We find this same emphasis in a simple statement by an Anabaptist from the Harz region. No *man* had taught him this, he says, but God the Heavenly Father had written it into his heart since this is what the Scriptures say.[53] As the Holy Spirit possessed man in the past, asserts Marpeck in a letter, "so He still rests on all true disciples of Christ, lives in them, and is the proper teacher of a true understanding and apprehension of blessedness. . . ."[54]

Although it sounds like immediate revelation of the enthusiastic kind, for the most part this was not the case. The Spirit has revealed the teaching and truth of Christ and this is found in the Scriptures. He makes the words of Scripture alive so that they are understood and actually are a new revelation since it is not accessible to the natural man. The natural man cannot understand the Bible and is unable to deal with it by himself without making a sacrilege of it, writes Hans Denck.[55] For the person seeking the truth without the spirit of God there is not only no truth, but actual death irrespective of the part of the Bible used.[56] Only the Spirit can produce this understanding since He first produced the Scriptures. If the Holy Spirit is allowed freedom to interpret, without any admixture of human error, it will be as in the days of old when men did not speak of themselves, but the Holy Spirit spoke and taught through them.[57] The Scriptures are the source of the true teaching of Christ, for there everything is found in its right order. This order, as set down by the Spirit of Christ must be observed if it is to bear fruit.[58] Marpeck agrees fully with what is said by Denck and Riedemann on this matter.[59]

There are many other facets to this problem that would round out and perhaps even at some points change the picture. But what has been said here represents views that were more or less common to all the Anabaptists that come within the scope of this study. The

52 *Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation und Gespräch zu Zoffingen mit den Widertouffern* (Zürich, Anno M. D. XXXII), 7.
53 Emil Jacobs, "Die Wiedertäufer am Harz," *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XXXII (1899), 513. Cf. *Confession*, 41, and *TA* II, 65.
54 *KB*, 307b. Cf. 297a.
55 *Schriften*, p. 22.
56 *Schriften*, p. 59.
57 *Confession*, p. 48.
58 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
59 *V*, 453, *KB*, 60b.

most outstanding among all these was that they, one and all, knew themselves to be gripped by the Almighty God through His Spirit. They were convinced that although they were sinners, and could therefore expect only God's wrath, God had nevertheless, in His great love and mercy, come to dwell with them. They knew that this had changed their lives, and when they said that, it was not from lack of humility, but out of the overpowering conviction of the power of God through His Spirit to create something new and good within them. The church without spot and wrinkle was not a human creation; it would never have entered their minds to make such an assertion, for they were pessimists concerning human nature, no less than Luther. But they believed that God created the church through His Spirit, and any conformity to that Divine standard within the church could be attributed only to the work of God Himself. Both their view of the individual Christian life and that of the fellowship was God-centered. It is, of course, not surprising that this did not always appear, for although the church is a Divine creation, its members are human, and this humanness continues to erupt into the Divine purpose. But if we take seriously some of the prophets of our day and under the guidance of God seek for a renewal in the life of our churches, we will find ourselves coming into a new appreciation of the teachings of our Fathers about the Holy Spirit.

THE ANABAPTIST POSITION ON BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER

GERHARD J. NEUMANN*

Concerning the Anabaptists of the Reformation era it has been correctly said that in the religious conflicts and debates of that time baptism "was not the primary matter in the testimony of the radical movement."[1] Compared with baptism, their discussions of questions concerning internal congregational affairs (as I should like to call them) predominated somewhat, even in mere quantity, not to speak of doctrinal or other matters.

Since, because of the partial failure of the Reformation, the interest of the people was centered in matters of congregational affairs, especially questions of inner direction, rather than in baptism, those persons must be reckoned with who attached themselves to Anabaptism for the specific reason that it strove in many respects to lead a more consciously Christian life. An example is Hans Denck. In his somewhat spiritualizing, though by no means one-sided, manner he distinguishes between outer and inner baptism: "Outward baptism is not necessary for salvation, but inward baptism is necessary."[2] The outward sign was for him and others not the essential matter. From a different point of view, there are statements made by persons in Thuringia indicating that they, in accord with the position of Karlstadt and Müntzer,[3] had not (or at least not yet) been baptized, but were nevertheless opposed to infant baptism.[4]

But there are also others, for example Balthasar Hubmaier, who by strongly connecting the forgiveness of sins with baptism stress the necessity of baptism for the individual as well as for the building of a Christian church. In spite of the depth of his conception the meaning of baptism, he was criticized by the more radical Hutterites,[5] who said that he baptized too many, and that by no means all of his converts were in a position to grasp the full significance of baptism. But Hubmaier's stress on the saving nature of baptism is not

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1 Franklin H. Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (New York, 1952), p. X. (Hereafter cited as *Anabaptist View.*)

2 Ludwig Keller, *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien* (Leipzig, 1885), 404 ff. Cf. Fritz Heyer, *Der Kirchenbegriff der Schwärmer* (Leipzig, 1939), 39.

3 Probably, at least in part, because they were awaiting revolutionary changes, they did not take baptism too seriously. Cf. P. von Zahn, "Studien zur Entstehung der sozialen Ideen des Täufertums in den ersten Jahren der Reformation" (unpublished dissertation, University of Freiburg i. Br., 1942), 19 f., 33.

4 Paul Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen* (Jena, 1903), 479 and supra.

5 Franklin H. Littell, "An Anabaptist Doctrine of the Restitution of the True Church," *MQR* XXIV (1950), 36 note 18. (Hereafter cited as *Doctrine.*)

an isolated case as has been thought.[6] This is substantiated by certain explanations, i.e., conceptual explanations of baptism which will be discussed later. Riedemann, for instance, also adopted the Hubmaier concept, and not only "outwardly." For him, too, there is in baptism a saving aspect, because it is then that a man's sins are forgiven him. The great significance of baptism for him will be discussed at length in connection with his baptismal procedure (*Taufagende*).

In accord with the first article of the Schleitheim Confession, baptism, to be sure, no longer had a sacramental character; but it was nevertheless more than a "form" for "acceptance and admission in the brotherhood"; for the Anabaptists took very seriously this participation in the body of Christ in its consequences. Thus, for Michael Sattler,[7] for example, it was through baptism that a person was added to the church of the saints. Since he was very serious in his practice of discipleship, this act was for him not a trifling matter. This second group, represented by Hubmaier and Riedemann, although rejecting its sacramental character, stressed the meaning of the act of baptism for the individual and its necessity for the church.

The first group was represented on the one hand by Hans Denck and other hand by the Thuringian Anabaptists; for them the outward sign was of secondary importance, in one instance from a somewhat spiritualizing point of view, and in the other because there were so many innovations, even politically, to be expected, that baptism did not play an important role.

A third group might be identified, for whom the symbolism is the primary matter.[7a] Bernhard Rothmann, for instance, considers baptism as the "door" to the church. "Through baptism we are rightly incorporated into the church."[8] But this symbolism was of considerable significance. Hans Hut might be put into this category; he deviated from Müntzer's "spirit possession" and considered the initiation aspect of baptism very important.[9] (See his booklet, *Vom Geheimnus der tauf.)*

The degrees of difference in the evaluation of adult baptism among the Anabaptists were noted by its opponents and interpreted as disunity.[10] Sebastian Franck writes in his *Ketzerchronik:* "Some

6 Fritz Heimann, "Die Lehre von der Kirche und Gemeinschaft der huterischen Täufergemeinde" unpublished dissertation, University of Vienna, 1927, based on Riedemann's *Rechenschaft,* 53.

7 Gustav Bossert Jr., "Michael Sattler's Trial and Martyrdom in 1527," *MQR,* XXV (1951), 202.

7a Erland Waltner, "The Anabaptist Conception of the Church," *MQR* XXV (1951), 11.

8 Heyer, *op. cit.,* p. 64.

9 Zahn, *op. cit., p.* 163.

10 Karl Schornbaum, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer,* Vol. I: *Markgrafschaft Brandenburg* (Leipzig, 1934), 171.

consider their rebaptism or baptism so important that without it they call no one saved, do not greet him, nor offer him a hand,[11] or recognize him as a brother. Some consider it less necessary."

A difference in the importance attached to the question of baptism is also observable in different periods; for instance, the Hessian court documents concerning trials and discussions, which yield the following possible survey: In the early days of the Reformation, until about 1533, a discussion of baptism frequently occupied the first place among the questions used for discussion; about the middle of the century it was more likely to be found as the third point; and in the last third of the century it was found in the fourth place or even later. This observation cannot, of course, be taken too literally but merely as indicating the trend. In the course of the sixteenth century there was a gradual decline of interest in this question. Particularly when theologians were involved in the discussions, any possible question was soon taken into discussion, such as the Trinity or the freedom of the will. But in the beginning of the period the question of baptism was, of course, more acute. In the Schleitheim Confession it occupies the first place. But this was by no means always the case, even in the beginning. In the Seven Articles of Jakob Kautz (1527), baptism is the third point.[12] Then the decline in the rating of the question can be determined. In Riedemann's *Rechenschaft*[13] (1540) baptism occupies the fourth place. In the Frankenthal discussion it even—under the influence of the theologians in charge—was relegated to the eleventh place.[14]

In general, the question of baptism keeps its importance, being second only to congregational matters. This is shown by the figures of speech used in making the concept of baptism tangible, in such terms as "symbol of the bond" *(zeichen der verpundnus)*[15] or Biblical terms such an "bond of a good conscience" (I Pet. 3:21),[16] as in Peter Walpot's writings.[17] Melchior Hofmann uses the expression "marriage bond" between God and man.[18] He says further that one's own "will, life, desire, spirit, and emotion *(Gemüt)* must be completely killed, abandoned, and dead."[19] One finds also the Biblical

11 Wilhelm E. Peukert, *Sebastian Franck* (Munich, 1943), 86.

12 Manfred Krebs, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer,* Vol. IV: *Baden-Pfalz* (Gütersloh, 1951), 1113 f.

13 Günther Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte. Wiedertäuferakten 1527-1626,* Vol. IV: (Marburg, 1951), 277 note 1.

14 Franz, *op. cit.,* p. 174.

15 Schornbaum, *op. cit.,* p. 71.

16 Gustav Bossert, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer,* Vol. I: *Herzogtum Württemberg* (Leipzig, 1930), 1050. (Hereafter cited as *Württemberg.*) Franz, *op. cit.,* p. 252.

17 Littell, *Doctrine,* p. 36.

18 P. Kawerau, *Melchior Hofmann als religiöser Denker* (Haarlem, 1954), 15.

19 *Ibid.,* p. 118, based on "Ordonnantie," p. 150.

figure of "burial with Christ in death" (Rom. 6:4 and Col 2:12).[20] After baptism man has put on the new Adam, "Jesus Christ."[21] It is also called the "washing of regeneration" (Tit. 3:5),[22] for instance by Riedemann.[23] Particularly the citation of the Biblical expression equating baptism with burial with Christ in death shows that the act, if not actually interpreted sacramentally, was nevertheless understood as being of very deep significance.

The chief chain of argumentation for adult baptism was as follows: The Bible says (1) teach, for "faith comes through preaching" (Rom. 10:17); (2) he who believes should then be (3) baptized (Mark 16:15 ff). Therefore, infants are not instructed in the Gospel and the Law and cannot believe. Luther, Bucer, Zwingli—none of them spoke of the New Testament. Luther argued that the baptized acquired faith in the Christian assemblies. The main argument against adult baptism, which was, however, sought in the Old Testament, the argument which Zwingli figured out and which Bucer used in the Marburg discussions, was that baptism is the New-Testament counterpart of the sign of the covenant of the Old Testament, namely circumcision. The Anabaptists, of course, held to their Biblical and New Testament basis. Now and then, with reference to John the Baptist, they pointed out a second series of proofs: (1) Penitence is necessary; this expresses itself in (2) confession of sin; baptism is then (3) a sign of conversion. Adult baptism is thus an act of confession, both as response (certainly granted in grace) to preaching and also a sign of conversion. Heyer[24] comments in this connection that man, not God, is acting here. I should like to reply to stress that here man must in his freedom make a responsible decision.

Still other citations from the Bible, for instance, from the Acts, were used in the argument. The argumentation sometimes branches out into exceedingly fine points. Schnabel[25] argues in support of the Anabaptist position that the Bible gives no instance of "carrying a child to baptism." Paul's statement that he was free of the blood of all because he had proclaimed the whole counsel of God is quoted (Acts 20:26 ff): if infant baptism were included in God's counsel, Paul would surely have said something about it.[26] With Riedemann the following chief arguments might be found against infant baptism: (1) There is nothing about it in the Holy Scriptures, either by

20 Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
21 Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 118, based on "Ordonnantie," p. 151.
22 Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
23 Heimann, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
24 Heyer, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
25 Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
26 Bossert, *Württemberg*, p. 1051.

way of narrative or of command. (2) Papal regulations are "precepts of men" (Matt. 15:9). (3) The bond of a good conscience is impossible in infants.[27] Actually Riedemann[28] cites arguments made by the opponents of adult baptism that are much more complicated and have nothing at all to do with baptism; in fact, they suggest subterfuge. To give only one illustration: the passage is cited, as a sort of "parallel," where Paul says, "If anyone will not work, let him not eat" (II Thess. 3:10), according to which one would have to let infants starve. Riedemann replies: The word "will" makes it a matter of the will; likewise with baptism. Jesus' words, "Let the little children come unto me" (Matthew 19:14), are not to be taken as a direct command for baptism. It was one of the chief Anabaptist arguments[29] against representatives of the established churches to stress the following: If one says that children, if they die, must die in sin, then Christ would not have said, "Let them come to me, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." This statement is found, for example, in Hans Schlaffer's *Kurtze und einfältige ermanung*.[30]

On the Anabaptist side Christ's "baptismal command" was stressed (Matt. 28:19; Mark 16:15). They vehemently opposed the simple acceptance of infants as members without any instruction and without conversion to faith. They viewed infant baptism as a "wrong," indeed, they condemned it. In the very earliest stages when the conflict was acute and even the great Reformer did not hesitate to use coarse words, Rinck said in 1528 that "children are in the act baptism sacrificed to the devil."[31] In Thuringia, in 1534-1537, some radicals went so far as to call infant baptism a dog bath.[32] In a trial in 1536 someone said that "never had a worse idolatry arisen than infant baptism."[33] Paul Glock in 1563 designates infant baptism as "ungodly."[34] Thus the basic position is at times in the early period presented in caustic sharpness.

However, as we have already seen, voices are heard which, with "inward" inclinations, consider the outer sign as rather irrelevant, thereby indicating a tendency toward Schwenckfeldianism. For the late period I have come upon statements and judgments of a tolerant and conciliatory nature, though, to be sure, they are always accompanied by a reference to having to represent conscientiously a different point of view; hence not much was changed in the Biblical Anabaptist position. These voices, though not numerous, seem to

27 Heimann, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
28 Peter Riedemann, *Rechenschaft unserer Religion* (Ashton Keynes, 1938), 70 ff.
29 Littell, *Doctrine*, p. 34.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 34 note 4.
31 Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
32 Wappler, *Thüringen*, pp. 425 ff., 444.
33 Franz, *loc. cit.*, p. 93.
34 Bossert, *Württemberg*, p. 1055.

me deserving of mention. Peter Tesch said in 1538: "We do not consider that it [baptism] harms a child," and "Let each one see to it that he is sure of his opinion."[35] In an examination of 1556 the accused would not say "that infant baptism was useful or harmful, but children who die wihtout baptism are pronounced blessed by Christ himself."[36] "He who has and can find a command to baptize young children, let him answer for it."[37]

The Outward Form of Baptism: In Thuringia, where there was a strongly social and political undercurrent, the outward sign of induction into the congregation was a cross made with water on the forehead.[38] In Switzerland at the village well at Hirslanden, Johannes Brötli, a former priest, sprinkles a shoemaker of Zollikon, who has already been instructed about baptism.[39] In another instance in that first Anabaptist congregation it is reported that after repentance baptism was performed by the use of an ordinary dipper.[40] Riedemann's baptismal procedure speaks of pouring water on the kneeling convert.[41] At the time of the Reformation there was apparently no discussion specifically on whether baptism should be by pouring or sprinkling or by immersion. In the early period baptism by immersion is reported in Augsburg.[42] Conrad Grebel practiced it once in Switzerland.[43] In Strasbourg it was probably performed in a tributary of the Rhine.[44] About 1555 or earlier it is known to have been performed in the Neisse[45] and the Weistritz.[46]

Having noted the external form of baptism, let us return to the interpretation of the act. Since for the Anabaptists new birth and conversion were possible only to the adult who had been instructed and been coverted in faith, the questions raised by the clergy in their cross-examination concerning the outward sign of baptism were of secondary importance, or the answer was taken for granted. The question was put not only to a Schwenckfeld (1544) "whether he believed that the external and material water of holy baptism was, beside and with the Word of God, a proper means and

35 Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 253.
37 *Ibid.*, pp. 463 f.
38 Wappler, *Thüringen*, pp. 262, 270.
39 Fritz Blanke, *Brüder in Christ: Geschichte der ältesten Täufergemeinde Zollikon 1525* (Zürich, 1955), 23.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
41 Heimann, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
42 Keller *op. cit.*, *Cf.* Wilhelm Wiswedel; *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum* (hereafter cited as *Bilder*), II (Kassel, 1930), 71 note 23.
43 Walther Koehler, "Das Täufertum in der neueren kirchenhistorischen Forschung," *Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte* (1940), 97. (Hereafter cited as *ARG.*)
44 Camill Gerbert, *Geschichte der Strassburger Sectenbewegung* (Strasbourg, 1889), 93.
45 Wiswedel, *Bilder*, III (Kassel, 1952), 225.
46 Cornelius Krahn, *Menno Simons* (Karlsruhe, 1936), 136 ff., with additional bibliography. John Horsch, "Did Menno Simons Practice Baptism by Immersion?" *MQR* I (1927), 54-56, H. S. Bender, "Immersion," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV.

instrument through which God the Holy Spirit effects the new birth." Schwenckfeld replied negatively: "he ascribed the new birth to the spiritual water."[47] It was more or less a formula question,[48] for no particular value was placed on the outward sign, even in the case of the Anabaptists. In his reply to Schwenckfeld's *Judicium*, Marpeck stressed that the Anabaptists desired the only true baptism, in which "teaching" preceded the "outward" water.[49] The Anabaptists, to be sure, valued baptism as an outwardly clearly discernible turning point, but also as a sign of the inner rebirth. In Riedemann we come upon a complete baptismal liturgy.[50] Here we find the important word repentance. "Repentance was the key word in the oldest baptismal liturgies."[51] This was the case with Hubmaier, and thirteen years later with Riedemann. In Riedemann's liturgy, the desire of the candidate for baptism was granted after repentance. After the confession of faith, other questions follow: whether the convert renounced the world, sin, and the devil; in other words, whether he would live for God. The significance of this latter obligation is documented by the immigrants to and the missioners from Moravia.[52] The mere sign of baptism was of no value; especially not in the case of infants, but not with adults either. In the words of a statement made in a court examination, "If one does not live according to the teaching of the Gospel, baptism does him no good."[53]

The question of the nature of the sacraments was asked less often than the question concerning baptism, and usually only in connection with the question of the Lord's Supper. In the discussion of this question one notes (1) a pushing aside of the concept of the sacrament; (2) agreement with Zwingli in opposition to Luther's view concerning the bread and wine; (3) stress on participation exclusively by a penitent and purified, indeed pure congregation.

First, a few words concerning the sacrament as such. The priest with a special function is repudiated. Thus Conrad Grebel[54] favors avoiding everything that might mean a relapse from the spiritual nature to a sacramental form; hence no priestly customs such as garb, no special bread, no special cup; each takes the bread and the cup into his own hand. The second of Jakob Kautz's Seven Articles

47 Bossert, *Württemberg*, p. 1007.
48 *Ibid.*, pp. 1040 ff.
49 J. Loserth, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Taugesinnten im sechzehnten Jahrhundert: Pilgram Marbeck's Antwort auf Kaspar Schwenckfelds Beurteilung . . .* (Vienna, 1929), 26, 23 f.
50 Riedemann's *Rechenschaft*, pp. 81 f. Cl. Heimann, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 f.
51 Littell, *Doctrine*, p. 35.
52 Gerhard J. Neumann, "Nach und von Mähren, Aus der Täufergeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *ARG*, 1957, pp. 75 f.
53 Schornbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 338.
54 Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950), p. 177.

says: No word, no sign, no promise, and no sacrament can make a man completely certain.[55] Melchior Hofmann, who may be taken as the spokesman of those using sharper language, speaks harshly of "sacrament sorcerers and conjurers."[56] In a hearing in the 1530's he declared that Luther had made an idol of the sacrament.[57] A written assertion by a pastor with Anabaptist inclinations (Hechtlein zu Schalkhausen) says that the sacrament "does not justify or make just"; spiritual matters must be spiritually adjudged.[58] A man of the common people said in his trial about 1570 that the word "sacrament" does not occur in the Bible.[59]

The Lord's Supper

The Lord's Supper is observed in memory of the Lord and as a sign of brotherhood in the body of Christ. These are the two principal points. It could also be said,[60] one wants to live a Christian life, "always have God in his heart," and views the meeting as a meal of love and brotherliness. For Grebel[61] the significance of the Lord's Supper lay in the "union with Christ and the brethren." For Michael Sattler and for Pilgram Marpeck it was first of all a meal of commemoration; it concrete function was "the refreshing, strengthening and comforting of the soul."[62]

The matter of participation in the Lord's Supper can also be approached by way of questions concerning the church. An isolated statement is found (it actually belongs rather in connection with the somewhat radical views on economic matters): "He who has property may not participate in the Lord's Supper."[63] Much more common are statements against participation for reasons of unworthiness. Conrad Grebel took the position[64] that there must be church discipline and order, for the body of church *(Liebesleib)* is destroyed when one has fellowship with "false brethren"; genuine and fraternal living must reign among those who unite for the Lord's Supper. Hubmaier's Lord's Supper liturgy contains an examination of faith, which is to determine whether the participant has proved himself in works.[65] The charge against conditions prevailing in the established churches is expressed in approximately these words: "The Lord's Supper is used and partaken by those and with those who because of their known and open unworthiness should have no part in it, because the Lord's Supper is the communion of Christ, from which one must exclude those who walk in open vices."[66]

55 Krebs, *op. ct.*, p. 113.
56 Rawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
57 Gerbert, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
58 Schornbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
59 Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 379.
60 Blanke, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
61 Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
62 Waltner, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
63 Reply given at a hearing, Schornbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
64 Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
65 Heyer, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
66 Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

On the doctrine that in the Lord's Supper the actual body and blood are not offered we will cite only a few outstanding representative persons and out of the abundance of reasons and arguments select ten characteristic formulations. The manifold expressions can be grouped around five points:

(1) General statements against transubstantiation. They said on this subject that it was a matter of simple bread and wine.[67] Melchior Hofmann[68] said it was not the material that counted; it was figurative; he draws a comparison with the ring that this is the assurance of the groom for the bride. Jakob Kautz in his Seven Articles says that bread and wine are "not essentially" the body and blood of Christ.[69]

(2) The difference between the spiritual and the physical is stressed. They cited Christ's comments (John 6:63), "The flesh is of no value,"[70] and (Mark 7:16) "What goes in at the mouth does not reach the heart."[71] Melchior Hofmann said that where the Lord's Supper is celebrated, "material bread is received into the material mouth and stomach, but the word of promise . . . through firm faith into the heart and conscience."[72] In another formulation, the blood is not in the cup, but "the cup stands in the blood."[73] It is a matter of "the spiritual" as one accepts the Lord's Supper with his heart *(Gemüt)*.[74]

(3) The vision is turned upon Christ. They said that Christ in His lifetime was "not eaten" at the first Supper;[75] He then ascended to heaven and is there now.[76] Leonhard Schiemer says He is at the right hand of God and not in the bread.[77]

(4) They oposed "sacrament priests." Christ's body does not come "from heaven into the bread through sinful priests."[78]God does not "transform Himself into bread." They spoke of a "bread idol."[79]

(5) Then there is a reference to the living God. They "did not believe in a dead God."[80] God is "spirit and life."

67 Schornbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
68 Kawerau, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 23, 95.
69 Krebs, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
70 Bossert, *Württemberg*, p. 184. Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938), 200. Wiswedel, *Bilder*, III, p. 140.
71 Wappler, *op. cit.*, p. 475.
72 Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
73 Schornbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 334, 335.
74 Franz, *op. cit.*, pp. 253, 198.
75 Wappler, *op. cit.*, p. 501.
76 Bossert, *Württemberg*, pp. 683, 1084.
77 Littell, *Doctrine*, p. 45.
78 Wappler, *op. cit.*, p. 361.
79 J. Loserth, *Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertaufe in Mähren* (Brno, 1893). Robert Friedmann, "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift der huterischen Gemeinden in Mähren," *ARG*, 1931/2, p. 209..
80 Wappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 443, 426.

POSSIBILITIES OF ERASMIAN INFLUENCE ON DENCK AND HUBMAIER IN THEIR VIEWS ON THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL

THOR HALL*

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The question of the influence of Humanism on the early Anabaptist movement is still a wide open one. Ever since Walther Koehler's pronouncement that "the profound spiritual father of the Anabaptists was Erasmus,"[1] the students of Anabaptism have been divided as to what this "fatherhood" of Erasmus involves. Some have wanted to limit the influence of Erasmus and Humanism to a formal and educational one, finding the theology of the movement to be largely uninfluenced by the content of humanist thought.[2] Others have tried to establish more closer personal contacts between the great humanists, especially Erasmus, and the early Anabaptist leaders;[3] but this theory is questioned, if not from a historical point of view, at least from an ideological and theological one.[4] Some scholars have pointed out the problem involved in finding out exactly who represented true Anabaptism in the beginning;[5] one has the ambiguous distinction between the Spiritualists and the Anabaptists to keep in mind, and the question of who belongs to the center and who to the fringes has been a matter of some discussion.[6]

Two important clarifications will have to be made if the ground is to be properly cleared for further progress in the study of this question. First, one must keep in mind that there were important differences in the theological views of the various Anabaptist groups right from the beginning, and that the variations may in significant instances be traced back to their different sources of influence. Only in very general tendencies on certain points can some of these groups be said to be influenced by Humanism, while in other instances there may be some evidence for more direct and detailed dependence on the views, for example, of Erasmus. Harold S. Bender has shown[7] that the influence of Luther and Zwingli on the Anabaptist group in Zürich was far more decisive than that of Erasmus. Conrad Gre-

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1 As quoted by Robert Kreider, "Anabaptism and Humanism," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (hereafter *MQR*), XXVI (1952), 123.

2 So for example Leonhard von Muralt, *Glaube und Lehre der Schweizerischen Wiedertäufer in der Reformationszeit*, quoted by Kreider, *op. cit.* See also "Humanism," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (hereafter *ME*), II, 841 f.

3 So for instance Ludwig Keller, according to Heinold Fast, "The Dependence of First Anabaptists on Luther, Erasmus, and Zwingli," *MQR*, XXX (1956), 111.

4 Paul Burkhardt, *Die Basler Täufer*, quoted by Fast, *loc. cit.*

5 See "Erasmus," *ME*, II, 239 f.

6 *Ibid*, p. 239.

7 Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950), 74 f., 200 f.

bel, for instance, who according to Bender was a humanist for eight years, was in that period less interested in the esthetic, moral, and religious aspects of the movement than its historical, geographical, and philological emphases.[8] Other scholars have claimed that wherever humanistic tendencies are found in the Swiss group, of which Grebel and Manz are the important exponents, they are not so much derived from direct influence by Erasmus as they are derived from Zwingli, who although he was within the Erasmian orbit, went far beyond him.[9]

It has ben pointed out, however, that other Anabaptist groups may have been under direct influence from Erasmus, especially among the Dutch and the South German radicals.[10] F. Pijper has shown that the great difference in character and mood between the Lutheran and the Dutch Reformation is largely due to the influence of the writings of Erasmus on the Dutch clergy.[11] This tendency was quite naturally inherited by the Dutch Anabaptists: Menno Simons shows this influence by incorporating a large number of quotations from Erasmus in his writings.[12] It was especially on the question of the freedom of the will that these men followed Erasmus,[13] and in the following centuries the Dutch clergy was to a large extent led away from a Calvinistic or Lutheran doctrine of predestination into a more liberal standpoint which has its roots clearly in the influence of Erasmus.[14]

In South German Anabaptism, it is quite obvious that Erasmian and humanistic thought was influential, at least in a general way, on such men as Hans Denck and Balthasar Hubmaier.[15] The extent of this influence, particularly with regard to the doctrines of the freedom of the will, necessity versus responsibility, and predestination is the subject of this present paper.

One other clarification should also be made in preparation for a study of this sort, one concerning Humanism itself. The humanistic movement was by no means a unified and homogeneous

8 Harold S. Bender, "The Humanism of Conrad Grebel," *MQR,* X (1936), 155 f. See also editorial comment by Bender in the same issue: "The conclusion is inevitable that Humanism had very little to do with the origin of Swiss Anabaptism, for if it did not have this connection through Conrad Grebel, it could scarcely have had it through another source."

9 Heinold Fast, *op. cit.,* 111.

10 "Erasmus," *ME,* II, 239 f.

11 *Ibid.* See also article on "Erasmus," *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (hereafter *ML).* I, 599 f.

12 See Cornelius Krahn, *Menno Simons* (Karlsruhe, 1936), 43 f., for a list of works known and quoted by Menno.

13 "Erasmus," *ME,* II, 239 f.

14 "Erasmus," *ML,* I, 599 f.

15 "German Anabaptism also shows no small degree of influence by Erasmus, especially among the leaders on the Lower Rhine.. . . . On baptism and communion, the Trinity, and freedom of the will Erasmus offered so much that was in accord with Anabaptist teaching, that he was suspected not only of promoting their cause, but even being one of them." "Erasmus," *ME,* II, 239. See also Karl Rembert, *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Jülich* (Berlin, 1899), 26; and Edward Yoder. "Conrad Grebel as a Humanist," *MQR* X (1929).

one. Especially with regard to religious faith and theological views there was a great difference between Italian Humanism and the Northern or trans-alpine movement under the leadership of Erasmus.[16] Robert Kreider has taken account of this fact,[17] and proposes a significant modification of Paul Joachimsen's well-known definition of Humanism in general as "an intellectual movement which was rooted in an urge toward the rebirth of classical antiquity,"[18] into the following formulation, which certainly is more adequate for the Erasmian type of Humanism: "Here was an ethical-intellectual movement which was rooted in an urge toward the rebirth of classical antiquity and classical Christianity."[19]

With this modification there seems to be a general tendency to think that Erasmus has been properly classified in distinction from the Italians. His religious and theological views, therefore, are commonly characterized as "simple, undogmatic, ethical Christianity,"[20] or as

> an undogmatic, simple, practical, religious morality based upon ethical preaching, the reading of the Bible and the church fathers, and the elevation of the general level of culture by the work of the scholars.[21]

Whether this is a right and just assessment of Erasmus is, however, an open question. The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* article on Erasmus, which ends by saying that the question of Erasmus' influence on early Anabaptism "awaits a more thorough study of Anabaptist theology,"[22] should add that it also awaits a deeper and more thorough penetration into the theology of Erasmus. So far our understanding of Erasmus seems to have been colored by the humanist interpreters on the one hand, who have had little or no interest in Erasmus' theology, since their interests are best served by pointing out his "undogmatic" morality in opposition to the "authoritarian" claims that these humanists themselves are up against; and, on the other hand, we have been led astray by the interpretation of Erasmus which Luther gave of him in his well-known book, *The Bondage of the Will,* and which has been looked upon as a fair estimate of Erasmus' views, not only by the faithful followers of Luther in his

16 Louis Bouyer, *Erasmus and his Times* (Westminster, 1959), 44. Harold S. Bender also has a fine insight into the differences in religious attitudes between the "paganism" of the Italian humanists, the "neutral" attitude of the Northern humanists of the Vadian and Glarean type, and the "moralistic Christianity" of Erasmian piety. "The Humanism of Conrad Grebel," *MQR,* X (1936), 157.

17 Robert Kreider, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

18 Paul Joachimsen, "Der Humanismus und die Entwicklung des deutschen Geistes," *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Litteraturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte,* VIII (1930), 419.

19 Kreider, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Bender, *MQR,* X (1936), 160.

22 *ME,* II, 239.

own day, but to this very day.[23] However, an object perusal of this work immediately gives the impression that Luther treats Erasmus with little theological respect, and one comes to doubt whether Luther's representations of Erasmus' views by way of selective quotations and free paraphrasing are quite in harmony with Erasmus' own intentions. Unfortunately Erasmus' work against Luther, the *Diatribe*,[24] is not at all well known. It has not as yet been translated into English,[25] and it is quite evident that the full impact of a comparison between Erasmus' own stated views and Luther's representation of them has not reached the English-speaking world.[26]

The same fate has in fact hit most of Erasmus' theological works. There is a tendency to forget that he was primarily a theologian[27] and that the most important works he ever published were theological studies and commentaries.[28] Unfortunately most of his works were published only in Latin, and since he was not a full-fledged Catholic, nor a Protestant, nor a Radical, his works have largely been left untouched, except for the great mass of purely humanistic literature on which later generations of literary men have laid their hands.

Since so little is known of Erasmus' own theology, except what is taken at second hand from his humanist disciples and from Catholic and Protestant opponents, we should be very careful not to pass rash judgment on his thought; and more specifically because some of his works that *are* made available in translation do not immediately substantiate the charges of "simple, undogmatic morality" leveled against Erasmus.[29] Therefore, when Robert Kreider charges Erasmus with holding a view in which "the imitation of Christ was not so much a response to divine grace as action predicated on belief in man's own efforts,"[30] one wonders whether he is speaking of Hu-

23 See introduction to Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will* (Westwood, N.J., 1957), by J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston.

24 The work has a longer title, usually rendered *Diatribe . . . de libero arbitrio.* We shall use the first word of the title only.

25 A joint edition of Luthers *The Bondage of the Will* and Erasmus' *The Freedom of the Will* is planned as Volume XVII in the Library of Christian Classics (hereafter LCC), edited by Professor Gordon Rupp of England.

26 The LCC edition of the two works together will be very revealing. A new edition in a living language of Erasmus' two books in answer to Luther's *De servo arbitrio,* namely the *Hyperaspistes,* published in 1526 and 1527, may also throw some light on Luther's interpretation of Erasmus' views.

27 The fact that Erasmus served on the theological faculty at the University of Louvain, Netherlands, for four years, and that both while he was there and afterwards he was under heavy criticism from the orthodox Catholics, to which he answered in one treatise after another, has not yet been given enough attention. See "Erasmus," *ML,* I, 599 f.

28 *Ibid.*

29 See especially for our purposes here Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Vom freien Willen,* German translation by Otto Schumacher (Göttingen, 1956). Also, for an example of Erasmus' preaching, Erasmus Roterodami, *De immensa dei misericordia,* English translation by Gentian Hervet (London, 1526?).

30 Kreider, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

manism in general, or else what his sources were. The fact is that Erasmus has a very "Augustinian" view of man's fall and God's grace.[31] Again, when Robert Friedmann in a discussion of the non-Augustinianism of Anabaptism[32] throws the glove to "Humanism" (obviously to Erasmus) and charges that the doctrine of absolute freedom of the will is "humanistic" rather than "Biblical," it is evident that he does not take into account Erasmus' own argumentation.[33] It is *not* from a humanistic point of view that Erasmus argues against Luther; his concern is theological and Biblical, and he speaks as a theologian and not as a literary genius only.

With this the ground is cleared for the present task, dealing with the possibilities of Erasmian influence on a certain branch of the Anabaptist movement on the question of the freedom of the will and related subjects. It is our contention that South German Anabaptism, so far as Hans Denck and Balthasar Hubmaier are its representatives, was more or less directly influenced at this point. We shall seek to show this by comparing the general views set forth in Erasmus' *Diatribe*[34] with Hans Denck's *Was Geredt sey*[35] and Balthasar Hubmaier's *Von der Freyhait des Willens.*[36]

Historical Contacts

It is not impossible to imagine some direct historical connection between the treatises of Erasmus and those of Denck and Hubmaier on the freedom of the will. They are all strong expressions of reaction against Luther's views of absolute necessity and unconditional predestination. Whether or not there can be found proofs for Denck's and Hubmaier's direct use of Erasmian argumentation as set forth against Luther, we are undoubtedly justified in assuming a knowledge on their part of the discussion going on between the two great teachers.

Erasmus' treatise was published in September 1524. By that time both Hubmaier and Denck (through him) had been won for

31 See below, pages 21 and 24; and also *Vom freien Willen,* 25, 30, and the entire sermon *De immensa dei misericordia.*

32 Robert Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Protestantism," *MQR,* XXIV (1950), 17.

33 The fact is that Erasmus argues against Luther on the basis of Scripture and out of concern for Scripture, something which is immediately clear to a reader of *Vom freien Willen.*

34 See notes 24 and 29. We shall here use the Schumacher edition. English translations are by the present author.

35 We shall use this short rendering of the full title *Was geredt sey das die Schrift sagt Gott thue und mache guts und böses. Ob es auch billich das sich yemand entschuldige der Sünden und sy Gott überbinde.* We shall here use the English edition, Hans Denck, *Whether God is the Cause of Evil,* George Hunston Williams, ed., *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers,* LCC XXV (Philadelphia 1957), 86 f.

36 Full title, *Von der Freyhait des Willens, Die Gott durch sein gesendet wort enbeüt allen menschen, und jnen dar zu gwalt gibt seine Khinder zu werden, auch die waal guttes ze wöllen und ze thon.* We shall here use the English edition, Balthasar Hubmaier, *On Free Will,* George Hunston Williams, ed., *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers,* LCC XXV (Philadelphia 1957), 112 f.

the Lutheran Reformation,[37] and had even moved beyond Luther.[38] Denck had been in personal contact with Erasmus during his stay and study in Basel in 1523;[39] and when he came to Nürnberg in September of that year he found himself in the middle of a strong movement of critique against Luther, in which the Nürnberg human ists—under the inspiration of the *German Theology*—charged Luther with forgetting the imitation of Christ and the complete yielding of the will to God.[40]

Hubmaier, who also had made a short visit to Basel, where he conferred with Erasmus, in 1522,[41] was by 1524 a strong leader in the Reformation movement in Waldshut in Austria, and had already made considerable advance along Zwinglian lines.[42] Thus we find that the personal contacts of Denck and Hubmaier with Erasmus were made at the time when Erasmus was becoming more and more concerned with the development within the Protestant camp;[43] in fact, by this time he not only knew that he had to take a definite stand against the Reformation doctrines at certain points, but he already knew what would have to be the subject of contention. In a letter to Zwingli in August 1523, he complained about "Luther's riddles and paradoxes," listing among them the view that free will is an "empty word";[44] and in a letter to his publisher in November that same year he refers to "the little book on the free will."[45] It is not difficult to imagine that Denck, being associated with him at this same time, must have known of what was coming from Erasmus' pen, and that Hubmaier, also interested in the subject, would get hold of the book as soon as it came out. No direct proof, however, is to be found.

37 Jan J. Kiwiet, "The Life of Hans Denck," *MQR*, XXXI (1957), 233, points out that Hubmaier visited Regensburg, where Denck had a position at the time, and "very likely (he) had at least this influence that he won Denck for the cause of the Reformation during these days at Regensburg."

38 The article "Hans Denck," *ME*, II, 32 f., says that by the time Denck was banished from Nürnberg in September 1523, he "had come to challenge the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith which seemed to guarantee the standing of a believer with God regardless of the character of his life."

39 The article "Hans Denck," *ML*, I, 401 f., says: "In Basel wirkte damals der grösste Gelehrte seiner Zeit, Desiderius Erasmus. Auch Hans Denk gehörte zu seinen Schülern, mit denen er Umgang pflegte. . . . Doch lässt sich ein tiefgehender Einfluss des Erasmus bei ihm night nachweisen." The last sentence is opposed by Kiwiet, *op, cit.*, p. 234, who when pointing to the personal contact of Denck with Erasmus says: "We can readily perceive . . . the influence of Erasmus in the writings of Hans Denck."

40 Kiwiet, *op. cit.*, p. 237. George H. Williams thinks that Denck's treatise *Was Geredt sey* was written "early," or "shortly after being expelled from Nuremberg." *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, LCC, XXV (Philadelphia, 1957), 89, footnote. Kiwiet, *op. cit.*, dates the expulsion to 1525.

41 Henry C. Vedder, *Balthasar Hubmaier* (New York, 1905), 54.

42 "Balthasar Hubmaier," *ME*, II, 826 f.

43 See the historical introduction in J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston, editors, Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, pp. 36 f., for a very detailed analysis of this development. Also J. A. Froude, *Life and Letters of Erasmus* (New York 1895), and Ephraim Emerton, *Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam* (New York, 1900).

44 Packer and Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Luther's answer to Erasmus, *De serve arbitrio,* came from the press in December 1525. By this time Denck was in Augsburg; and he had moved beyond his earlier Lutheran position[46] to such an extent that he came to protest openly against it, and particularly against the common excuse among the Lutheran clergy and the laity that they were not able to choose their way of life because of God's providence.[47] So strong was his critique of this distortion of the evangelical doctrine of redemption that during a short stay in St. Gall about this time he was accused of "universalism" or "the heresy of Origen."[48] In view of this situation, and especially in view of his public discussion on the subject with Rhegius,[49] is it difficult to imagine that Denck knew of Luther's book against Erasmus; that his own pamphlet *Was Geredt sey,* written at Augsburg in 1526, is his own contribution to the discussion; and that in his arguments he referred back to Erasmus' book for support?

Hubmaier must also have come into the discussion at this point. He had evidently by this time developed further, and from a Zwinglian position shifted to more Anbaaptist views. His congregation at Waldshut followed him to a large extent in these views, but when the retaliation came for the city's participation in the Peasants' Revolt early in 1526, he left the city and came to Zürich. Being given a hard time there by Zwingli and the City Council,[50] he decided to go to Moravia, and on the way stopped over for a while at Augsburg. This was in April 1526.[51] At Augsburg Hubmaier and Denck spent some time together.[52] They knew each other from their time together at Regensburg, when Hubmaier had influenced Denck to support the Reformation.[53] How far Anabaptism was established and influential in Augsburg at this time is difficult to decide;[54] but it is certain that Hubmaier again influenced Denck's position and con-

46 See note 41.

47 Kiwiet, *op. cit.,* p. 244, says that "Denck may have written another book (later published under the title *Ordnung* . . .) in Augsburg, in which he attacked the excuse of the people that they were not able to choose their way of life because of God's providence. In the last chapter of this book Denck attacked the Lutheran pastors. . . ."

48 "Hans Denck," *ME, II,* 33. Kiwiet, *op. cit.,* p. 243, says: "In Denck's second book everybody is invited to obey God. Nobody can excuse himself with the theory of predestination, for Christ has died for all mankind without exception. That does not mean that all are going to be saved (as Origen claimed); many may not want to obey God, but everybody can obey. . . . So Denck does not believe in a general atonement; he only proclaimed that Christ's atonement is sufficient for all mankind."

49 *Ibid.,* p. 33.

50 Vedder, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

51 Kiwiet, *op. cit.,* p. 245.

52 "Hubmaier verkehrte viel mit Denk," "Hans Denk," *ML,* I, 401.

53 See note 37 for this earlier contact between the two men.

54 The article "Hans Denck," *ME,* II, 32 f., points out that Denck, when he came to Augsburg in 1525-1526, came into contact with "a small nucleus of an Anabaptist congregation" there, established by Hubmaier about this time. Kiwiet, *op. cit.,* p. 245, on the other hand, claims that when Hubmaier baptized Denck in 1526 "he became an Aanabaptist, the only one in Augsburg at that time. Hans Denck did not become a member of the congregation of the Swiss Brethren but he himself became the originator of a new group of Anabaptists, the South German Anabaptists."

vinced him of the importance of believers' baptism, for he baptized him and left him as the leader of a small Anabaptist group at Augsburg.[55]

With all this it does not seem improbable that there was also some influence in the other direction, from Denck to Hubmaier. If it is true that Denck was

> one of the few theologically trained leaders who were especially fitted to guide the religious powers of the movement through a clearing up of the difficult theological questions to quieter fields,[56]

it should not be held impossible that Denck at this time gave Hubmaier a share of his views on the freedom of the will, predestination, unconditional necessity, etc., views with which he must have been particularly occupied at this time. The fact is that when Hubmaier had settled in Moravia in July 1526, he started to publish a series of eighteen works, some of which were already written when he got there.[57] In 1527 he published two works on the freedom of the will, both of which show definite knowledge of Luther's arguments, of Denck's *Was Geredt sey,* and of Erasmus' position in the *Diatribe.*[58] Whether Hubmaier and Denck were familiar with the two volumes of *Hyperaspistes* with which Erasmus answered Luther in 1526 and 1527 is a matter for further inquiry.[59] These works do not seem to have had much power to shift the balance his way in any case; Luther's voice had thundered too solidly for that. But Denck's and Hubmaier's little treatises may have found readers among those who had seen the dangers of antinomianism and hypocrisy lurking in the wake of Luther's absolute determinism; and so Erasmus' influence was passed on.

Hans Denck on Determinism

Denck's treatise on "Whether God is the Cause of Evil"[60] is a polemical work directed against those who say that the Scripture claims God to be the doer of both good and evil, and who excuse themselves by referring to God as the source of their actions, whatever these actions were. This, of course, is one of the more unde-

55 *Ibid.,* p. 245.
56 "Hans Denck," *ML,* II, 406.
57 "Balthasar Hubmaier," *ME,* II, 826 f.
58 See Hubmaier's prefatory remarks to his arguments in the second treatise on the freedom of the will, *Das andere Biechlen von der Freywilligkait des menschens:* "After my opponents come thus daily to me, bringing many writings by which they would fain wipe out entirely human free will, exigency compels one to remove such stumblingblocks and countertricks from the way. . . ." George H. Williams, *op. cit.,* p. 131.
59 Johan Huizinga calls these works "nothing but an epilogue." *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation* (New York, 1957), 165. A higher evaluation comes from Louis Bouyer: ". . . the second book of the *Hyperaspistes,* more maturely thought out than the first part, opposed the paradoxical theology of Luther's *De servo arbitrio,* where it clearly issues in a double predestination. . . ." *Erasmus and His Times* (Westminster, 1959), 136.
60 See note 35.

sirable consequences of Luther's teaching. In his concern for giving God *all* the glory for man's salvation Luther had come to stress so completely the absolute corruption of man facing the absolute and active sovereignty of God, that the responsibility for man's acts and decisions came to be removed from himself and be vested in the unconditionally determinative will of God. This Denck protests strongly against; such a "presumptuous passivity" before God is just as false in its self-made reverence as the former "presumptuous activity" had been.[61] This had now been discovered by the elect; and—says Denck, addressing his opponents—they

> already see your deception in part. Therefore they also have no peace or satisfaction therein, but rather seek (to find) a mean between your former and your present lies, and they will also find it unhindered by you. The mean, however, existed before the outer extremes existed. Yea, the mean remains in eternity, even if the extremes may disappear and appear. The mean is the word of Truth, which says thus: It is hard for the rich man (that is, all persons who are full of the creaturely, each one according to his measure) to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but not impossible. . . . If it is not impossible, let each one leave off the creaturely, that is, take upon himself the yoke of Christ; and it will become wondrously easy.[62]

The most offensive aspect of this "passivity," to Denck, is the "stark blindness" that is being spoken of with regard to man:

> This blindness, according to them, is also without any distinction wrought by God, as though the godless also stood tranquil in God and . . . not they but rather God sinned in them. . . . Say it, someone. How could the devil have better messengers?[63]

Instead of the "stark blindness" of the Lutherans, Denck speaks of man's fall into "utter darkness." Still, "the good pleasure of (God's) will remained unabated such as He has determined it from all eternity . . . He desires the salvation of all men."[64] And so he sets forth a "means," his Word. This is

> so near to all persons (however much they have wanted to reject God) that they can easily receive it in (simply) returning to God. Not that they themselves are able to do anything, but rather because the Word is always in them trying to unite them with the Father, and they will not have it. And nevertheless, as said, God wishes to have no one forced; the fault is theirs who do not wish to do what they very well could by means of the Word.[65]

Nobody, then, can avoid the responsibility for his own life. To say that one is "deaf by reason of sin" is just a "false excuse" in order to "put oneself in a good light and to blame and condemn

61 Hans Denck, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
62 *Ibid.*, pp. 96 f.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
64 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

God."[66] But does not this mean that all depends on me, that is on my own running and doing? No, says Denck, for when you run, it is not you "but the Word of God which runs in you."[67] But if God is the one who works in us, why does He not make us as He would have us? No, answers Denck, because "God does not wish to compel us," for He wants His grace recognized, not despised.[68] But what about election; how do we know who can come? Here Denck gives a thoroughly "evangelical" exposition of election; he sees the death of Christ (which he interprets dramatically as the means by which "the uncreated death [of Adam and his posterity] should be swallowed up in the created death [of Christ]"[69]) to be "for all men"; ". . . if he had excluded anyone, then love would have been squint-eyed and a respecter of persons. And that [love] is not."[70] The elect will "seek and rejoice and do not themselves know for what and why," but it is all "without disadvantage to the gospel of Christ," for such a work is not of themselves, but has "gone forth" from God.[71] Since this is so, it can be freely said that

> whoever wishes to offer himself in the depths of his soul and in truth to the Lord, that is, whoever wishes to leave off his own mind, and see the will of God and has respect for the work of God, him the merciful Father will receive with great joy and take back regardless of how he had conducted himself hitherto, however despicably he had used up his inheritance, yea, regardless of whatever the Father himself might have decided against him. Oh, that the whole world would come in this manner! The Lord would surely be wonderfully ready to favor them.[72]

But does this mean that God is variable? No, says Denck, "the truth and the Word of God is in itself constant." But "we are inconstant and vaccilate therein." Therefore,

> those whose hearts God hardens so that they cannot believe, he has not rejected in the sense that He does not want to have them, but rather that He might beforehand show them their unbelief, all to the end that they might recognize the pity of it and bewail it and be comforted.[73]

But what about God's foreknowledge; can and should anyone do anything against it? Denck's answer is a twofold one. To those who use God's foreknowledge as an excuse for not being able to do anything, he says:

> Why do they not take heed of His commandments, which He has given for the purpose that they be obeyed, rather than of foreknowledge about which absolutely nothing has been ordered or revealed?[74]

66 *Ibid.*
67 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
69 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
70 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
71 *Ibid.*, p. 107.
72 *Ibid.*, pp. 190 f.
73 *Ibid.*, p. 108.
74 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

To Denck, God's foreknowledge is "unkown to us"; but it "will surely, without our prying spirit, accord with His will, which even the perverse know in part."[75] On the other hand, Denck answers those who use God's foreknowledge as basis of a false assurance, even while living "without the righteousness which holds before God":

> For whom God has received in faith, He can and wills to reject again in case the person does not remain in faith, since He did not even spare the angels for the reason that they were so certain of the matter. . . . Is it not mishandling providence to wish to be certain of the reward of the Lord, however we may serve Him?[76]

In Denck's view there can be no discrepancy between the revealed will of God and a "secret" will of God:

> He bids all people to be called and proffers His mercy to everyone in cordial earnestness and yearning in order to fulfill all that He has promised in truth. . . . Sure He does not say, come hither, and intend or wish secretly that this person remain where he is. Surely He does not give someone grace and secretly wish to withdraw it again. Surely He does not work up repentance in us for our sins and secretly adjudge us guilty of hell. For He is ever constant and sincere in all His gifts. . . .[77]

The question, then, whether God is the cause of sin, can be answered only by referring to His creation of man as a free and responsible being. The freedom to sin is necessary for man in order to recognize and praise God, for otherwise he would have been driven through life like a stone or a block. In this context Denck sets forth four important points: (1) If God had not created, He would not have been recognized in His glory. (2) If God had prevented sin, His mercy would not have been mercy. (3) If God had caused sin, man would not have been fully responsible. (4) Only because sin could be wiped out did God make man free to sin: "If sin could not be overcome, God would not be omnipotent and would have to acknowledge an enemy standing eternally alongside and over against him."[78]

These, in short, are the views of Denck set forth in his treatise *Was Geredt sey*. They can be summarized in the following manner:

> (1) Man's freedom is the basis for his responsibility, as well as for his recognition of God's glory.
>
> (2) God does not compel anyone to anything; He respects His own creation.
>
> (3) Man has fallen into "utter darkness" and is unable to find his way out on his own.
>
> (4) There is no discrepancy between God's hidden and His revealed will; we must hold to the revealed will, for God is serious when He calls.

75 *Ibid.*
76 *Ibid.*, pp. 105 f.
77 *Ibid.*, p. 105 f.
78 *Ibid.*, pp. 109 f.

(5) God's clear will is that all men be saved.

(6) God's foreknowledge does not upset His clear commands and promises; it must therefore be separated from the idea of predestination.

(7) God has given all men equally the means of salvation; man, therefore, is not "stark blind"; God's word is in his heart and mouth to do it.

(8) It is up to man to respond to God's initiative by recognizing and using these means.

(9) When man responds positively to God, it is on God's initiative; God, therefore, is the one to be praised.

(10) When man rejects God, it is God who punished him with sin and hardening; man, however, is the one to be blamed. This is the only way God "causes" sin.

(11) Man's salvation and rejection are never "final"; they depend on man's response at every point. God is constant; man is variable.

(12) At the basis of all assurance of salvation there must be a correspondence between faith and life.

Balthasar Hubmaier on the Freedom of the Will

We shall next need to make an analysis of Hubmaier's views on the matter. He published, as we have seen, two treatises on the freedom of the will, both coming from the press at Nickolsburg in 1527.[79] The first of these discussions is the most important one. The book is somewhat longer than Denck's, but it can very well be summarized in a few short strokes, since his more systematic treatment of the subject makes it easier to delineate his basic ideas.

Hubmaier's point of departure is very similar to Denck's. He is disgusted with those who "do patchwork of the Scriptures"[80] and get out of them only the two "half-truths" that "faith saves us" and that "we can do nothing, for God works in us both willing and doing; we have no free will."[81] He proposes to answer this "frivolity" and "brashness" with which men cover over "all license of the flesh and lay all . . . sin and guilt on God," particularly discussing "how and what man in and outside of God's grace is and what he can do."[82]

79 As we have already seen, notes 36 and 58 above, Hubmaier wrote two separate treatises on the freedom of the will, both published in 1527 at Nickolsburg, Moravia; namely *Von der Freyhait des Willens . . .*, and *Das andere Biechlen von der Freywilligkait des menschens. . . .* George H. Williams, in his LCC edition o fthe works of Hubmaier, includes Part III, arguments I and II of the second treatise in place of Part IV of the first treatise. Assuming that the material thus represented is representative of Hubmaier, we shall follow Williams' text in the subsequnt analysis.

80 Balthasar Hubmaier, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 114.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 115. Hubmaier expects to follow up his argument with a book which will show "by divine writ the freedom of man (to choose) good or evil," and in which the opposing passages from Scripture concerning Pharaoh, Esau, Jacob, the potter, etc., are explained. This would certainly be an interesting document to compare with Erasmus' *Diatribe;* one would suspect that Erasmus' interpretations of these passages would be heavily relied upon here. We know that Hubmaier conferred with Erasmus in 1522 on the interpretation of Scriptural passages about purgatory, and on some "dark places" in the Gospel of John (Vedder, *op. cit.*, p. 54). It is not unlikely that Erasmus' very elucidating interpretation of the above mentioned difficulties to a large extent was recognized as the classical example of antideterminist exegesis.

Hubmaier's general anthropological outlook is the classical trichotomous view of man as body, soul, and spirit.[83] In each of these parts, Hubmaier posits a "will"; so man has a "will of the flesh," a "will of the soul," and a "will of the spirit."[84] Before the fall of Adam all three "substances" were good,[85] free both in choice, recognition, and the doing of good and evil.[86] The fall had various consequences for the various substances in man: The flesh lost its goodness and freedom irrevocably, and became "utterly nought and helpless."[87] And so it was punished with death. The spirit, however, has remained "utterly upright" and "intact," for it did not take part or consent to the sin except as a prisoner in the body.[88] The soul became so "maimed in will" and "wounded even unto death" that it can of itself neither choose nor reject evil; it has lost the knowledge of good and evil.[89] In the fall, then, man acted against his own conscience; inwardly, according to the spirit, he would only wish to do right.[90] This wish to do right is actually still in man; but it is not "of man," for it is originally "from God and from his image in which he first created us."[91]

> The old serpent . . . has indeed almost obscured it (the image) and blacked it out through sin, but nevertheless he could never entirely extinguish God's breath in us, nor would he ever be able to do it. . . .[92]

After the fall has been restored through Christ, however, the situation is again changed: The flesh is "still worthless and good for nought,"[93] but the soul has become "awakened by the Word of God, made whole through His dear Son," and "enlightened through the Holy Spirit"; it has thereby come again to know what is good and what is evil, and has thus "recovered its freedom,"[94] its "genuine soundness"[95] so that it can "command the flesh, tame it, (and) dominate it."[96] The regained freedom is not, of course, a freedom for good only; it brings with it the freedom also to sin or to reject the good; and with the freedom follows responsibility.[97] Hubmaier evidently applies the fact of Christ's work of redemption to man in general; for man, he says, "acquired such grace, health, and freedom through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord that he is able to will and to accomplish the good, even against the nature and will of the flesh, in which there is nothing good."[98]

83 Hubmaier, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
84 *Ibid.*, p. 117.
85 *Ibid.*, p. 118.
86 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
87 *Ibid.*
88 *Ibid.*, p. 120.
89 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
90 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
91 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
92 *Ibid.*
93 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
94 *Ibid.*
95 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
96 *Ibid.*, p. 126.
97 *Ibid.*, pp. 126 f.
98 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Hubmaier's definition of free will runs as follows: Free will in man is

> nothing but a force, power, strength, ability of soul to will or not to will something, to choose it or to flee from it, to accept or reject good or evil, according to the will of God, or according to the will of the flesh. . . .[99]

The guiding principle in this free will is obviously man's knowledge of good and evil; and since this was lost in the fall, it would have to be brought back by some new grace or "calling" of the heavenly Father.[100] This "calling" is compared to an "invitation," by which "God gives power and capacity to all men in so far as they themselves desire it."[101] This is so because He wants "guests and dispensers" that are uncompelled, willing, and joyful. To those who believe, then, God gives the power and will to achieve all that he is bidden; but this "must, must, must take place through a rebirth," by which He "begets us of His own will," and thereby gives us "real freedom, real health, real life."[102]

The key to this new healthy and free life is Christ.[103] The work of Christ, for Hubmaier, is that He

> won for our spirit from God His Heavenly Father that its prison (the body) should no longer be harmful to our spirit; and through His soul He recovered for our soul the capacity to be taught and illuminated again by His divine Word, as to what is good and evil. Yea, through His flesh He has earned for our flesh that after it has moldered to ashes, it will be resurrected in honor and immortal-(ity).[104]

The sum total of Hubmaier's discussion is that henceforth "each soul that sins must bear (the responsibility for) its own sin";[105] it is guilty, not Adam, nor Eve, nor the flesh, nor sin, nor death, nor the devil.

In a last section[106] Hubmaier exchanges arguments with the Lutheran and Zwinglian preachers who fail to distinguish in practice between the "omnipotent and hidden will of God" (the "plenary" or absolute will) and the "revealed" will of God (by which "He makes all men to be saved").[107] This "revealed" will is the "ordinary" will of God, which is made known to us in the Holy Scriptures.[108] It is the "conditional" will, by which God "must" have mercy, "must pardon" man's sin when he cries to Him, not because of any intrinsic worth in man, but because of His own merciful promises.[109] God's predestination and foreknowledge must therefore be kept in distinction from each other.

99 *Ibid.*
100 *Ibid.*
101 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
102 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
103 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
104 *Ibid.*
105 *Ibid.*
106 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
107 *Ibid.*
108 *Ibid.*, p. 133.
109 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

Hubmaier goes on to urge that the "secret" will of God be left "as something that we have no need to investigate."[110] Instead, he takes hold of the revealed will and divides it into an "attracting" will and a "repelling" will: The "attracting" will is the salvation which is offered to everyone, only so that "the choice is fully left to man, since God wants him without pressure, unconstrained, under no compulsion."[111] The "repelling" will is God letting people have it "as they wish" when they do not receive Him, hear Him, or follow Him.[112] If the "attracting" will is the will of God's mercy, His "repelling" will is the will of His justice and punishment. And we, with our sins, not God, are guilty before it. Such is the sin against the Holy Spirit, for which there is no forgiveness;[113] but God would gladly receive again all those who thirst after piety and "very much wish to do what is right."[114]

If we should seek to summarize Hubmaier's view in the same manner attempted in the above treatment of Denck, the following points would stand out:

(1) Man is a trichotomous being, created free in all respects, perfectly harmonious and capable of all good.

(2) God does not constrain or compel man in any way; he is responsible for his own acts.

(3) In the fall, man's soul lost its knowledge of good and evil, and is "maimed" and "wounded." His spirit, however, is still "intact," that is "his wish for good"; but it does not know what to wish for.

(4) There is a distinction between the revealed and hidden will of God; but we must keep to the revealed will. God is serious in what He says.

(5) God's revealed will is that all men should be saved.

(6) God's foreknowledge cannot be identified with predestination.

(7) In the restoration by Christ, the soul is awakened by the Word of God, given the knowledge of good and evil, and restored to its freedom of choice.

(8) The capacity for good and the power to achieve it is given to man according to his own choice and acceptance.

(9) This "real freedom" and "real health" given to man in the restoration, comes by a divine rebirth, God "begetting" man of His own will, through Christ.

(10) When man rejects God, he is given what he wishes, namely the hardening which is the righteous judgment over such a sin against the Holy Spirit.

(11) Man's hardening stands as long as he rejects God; but when he turns to God he will be accepted; God is "bound" by His own promises.

110 *Ibid.*
111 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
112 *Ibid.*
113 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
114 *Ibid.*, pp. 122 f.

(12) An identification of foreknowledge with predestination has moral implications which are unhealthy and dangerous.

Looking back from this vantage point to the summarizing paragraphs we found developed in Denck's treatise, we shall not be surprised to find that Hubmaier's emphases correspond step by step with the views of Denck. There are, of course, minor differences; but on the whole it is not difficult to see that the two men are driving essentially the same points.

It is now our task, finally, to see if we can find these same emphases in Erasmus' *Diatribe,* and find them in such a way as to indicate a possible connection. We shall not hope to furnish positive proofs; far more detailed investigation into the texts at hand would be needed for that purpose. But we may succeed in establishing some ground on which to assume an acquaintance at least, on the part of Denck and Hubmaier, of Erasmus' point of view.[115] We shall not go into detail here; but enough must be said to substantiate our claim that there is definite affinity between the views of the three men. We shall discuss the points one after another, in the order delineated above.

Erasmus on the Free Will

(1) It is quite evident that man's freedom, for Erasmus, stems from the theological view of man as created *by* God, for the glory *of* God, and in responsibility *to* God, and that he does not base his view of man on the common humanistic assumption of an intrinsic value in man quite separate from his relationship to the Creator. In speaking of the "original state" of man, Erasmus says that Adam was created so as to have "an unrestrained reason and will":

> In man the will was so good and so free that without a new grace he could be able to remain in him innocence; he could, however, not without the help of a new grace reach to the blessedness of the eternal life which Jesus has promised to His followers.[116]

From this it is evident that Erasmus did not go as far as Hubmaier did in claiming that man in his original state was created so free that it was "possible for him, without new grace, to continue in his pristine innocence and purity *unto eternal life.*"[117] But basically they are in agreement.

(2) It is also clear that Erasmus posited in man's freedom the basis for his responsibility; God cannot be one to constrain man within a scheme of unconditional necessity. That would make God responsible for the acts that He himself punishes; and what could be

115 See notes 24, 29 and 34.
116 Erasmus, *Vom Freien Willen,* p. 25.
117 Hubmaier, *op. cit.,* p. 128.

more hurtful to man's sense of obligation?[118] Quoting Sirach's Wisdom 15, verses 14-18, Erasmus posits both for the first man, the Jewish nation at the time it was written, and for "us," the "possibility of choice," "even the freedom and the movability to both sides which was given . . . already in creation."[119] Only thus can man be counted responsible; and that is just the point that Erasmus wants to make throughout.

(3) One may not from the standpoint of common understanding of Erasmus expect to find a doctrine of the fall in the *Diatribe,* but it is there, developed along the following lines: The original state of man was changed in the fall. Says Erasmus:

> Our power of judgment, whether we see it as "nous," that is power to think, intelligence, or we see it as "logos," that is reason, is being darkened through sin, but not annihilated; our will, as an ability to separate and choose, is perverted to the degree that man is not—through his natural means of help—able to better himself again, but so that he has lost his freedom and is forced to serve sin, which he has willingly subjected himself to. . . . As the sins of the forefathers are conveyed to the descendants, so also the propensity to sinning is transferred to all; and it is, by the forgiving grace, weakened to the degree that it can be overcome but not completely rooted out."[120]

Obviously, both Denck and Hubmaier are in complete harmony with Erasmus here, although none of them speaks in exact terms of any "propensity to sinning" which is being "transferred" to all in the same manner as the "sins of the forefathers" are "conveyed" to the descendants.[121] Erasmus uses also, of course, the terms "reason" or "intelligence" for the power of judgment which has been "darkened" (but not annihilated); but even this is close to Denck and Hubmaier, who speak of "knowledge" of good and evil which is lost, resulting in "utter darkness." They all agree on the main point, however; that man has fallen, that his powers of will and knowledge have been perverted, that he is unable to find his way out of his plight alone, and that he is responsible for decisions he is called to make as God confronts him in grace.

(4) Erasmus may have been influential on Denck and Hubmaier in his discussion of the relationship of God's hidden and His revealed will. Luther had made the distinction between the two quite sharp:

> It belongs to the same God Incarnate to weep, lament, and groan over the perdition of the ungodly, though that will of Majesty purposely leaves and reprobates some to perish. Nor is it for us to

118 Erasmus, *op. cit.,* p. 16.
119 *Ibid.,* p. 28.
120 *Ibid.,* p. 25 f.
121 Is Robert Friedmann right in claiming that Anabaptists are non-Augustinians in that they reject original sin? "Anabaptism and Protestantism," *MQR,* XXIV (1950), 16.

> ask why He does so, but to stand in awe of God, who can do, and wills to do, such things.[122]

This Erasmus would never subscribe to, and neither would Denck and Hubmaier. For them, as we have seen, there is a *distinction* between the two "wills" in God, but *no discrepancy*. This is essentially Erasmus' view also. In his argument against Luther's doctrine of absolute necessity, he sets forth all the promises, the exhortations, the commandments, the warnings and the woes of Scripture to substantiate the claim that it is up to man to decide whether to stand under grace or to remain under God's wrath. Since his argument is against necessity, he is mainly interested in showing that man is called upon to respond and so unlock the "conditional" results.[123] This fact has given his argument the unfortunate twist that he seems to ascertain the validity of human achievement; but this is not so. His primary concern is to show that with a doctrine of necessity, or of a hidden will which does not correspond to a revealed will, all we ever knew about God through Scripture would be completely meaningless; man could very well say to God, "why hold forth all these things when all I do, good as well as evil, springs from you?"[124] Erasmus, then, comes down where Denck and Hubmaier are, claiming that we will have to hold to the revealed will of God and not seek to know what is not at all revealed and known.[125] And Erasmus is the one to introduce the claim into the discussion that "God is serious" about His promises and His invitation.[126]

(5) The will of God to save all men is explicitly stressed in the *Diatribe*. One of Erasmus' great texts against Luther's teaching of predestination, election, and absolute necessity is that "God does not wish the death of a sinner."[127] Throughout the book there are indications that the all-inclusiveness of God's grace, God's call, and God's demands is basic in his views.

(6) A more important point in this connection is that Erasmus distinguishes strictly between foreknowledge and predestination. He quotes Laurentius Valla to say:

> Foreknowledge is not the cause of that which happens; it is also within man's capacity to know beforehand some things that will happen, but not so that there comes an eclipse of the sun just because we foresaw it; rather it can be foreseen because it is going to happen.[128]

122 Luther, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
123 Erasmus, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.
124 *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37, especially 36.
125 *Ibid.*, pp. 13 f.
126 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
127 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
128 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Foreknowledge, then, is not the same as predestination. But is there a predestination? The question is not rejected by Erasmus; he sees that God wills that which He foreknows, and that His will must be involved even where He only allows things to happen without hindering them.[129] Without solving the dilemma, he says that he does not doubt that God *can* force himself on nature and on man.[130] This, however, is exceptional; the "usual" or "knowable" will of God is such as man can oppose if he chooses to do so.[131] The sum of it all is that God's foreknowledge should be seen in light of His revealed will, and that God's revealed will is all the predestination we need to know about or worry about. Foreknowledge "is not against the free will."[132]

(7) When it comes to the point of "contact," or the point at which God's call reaches man and man is able to respond, we find Erasmus claim for fallen man some general knowledge of *"the law of nature,"* or of general ethical principles, reached without the help of faith or Scripture.[133] However, the higher law, *"the law of works,"* is a heavier one, and it has commanded "what without grace man cannot fulfill."[134] The highest law, *"the law of faith,"* gives still more difficult demands, and without the fulness of grace man will never even reach to it.[135]

Closely correlated to this view of the law is Erasmus' doctrine of grace:[136] Here we find first *"natural grace,"* which through sin is "perverted but not destroyed." This is the power to speak or to keep silent, sit or stand, hear or refuse to listen. Erasmus knows some to claim this to be enough to prepare us for the beginning of "acting grace"; others claim that without "extraordinary or special grace" man cannot turn to God. In Erasmus' own view there is an *"extraordinary grace"* which is at work in all men, given by God to all sinners, and which empowers them to virtuous works ("but not to lay away sin"), to turn to God with the rest of their will, and to decide whether to turn toward or refuse the grace offered. Then follows the *"grace to will"* (or "co-operating grace"), which "proffers" what has been begun; and finally the *"grace to fulfillment."*

All this, of course, is good Augustinianism. Our Anabaptist writers rejected the scholasticism of such Erasmian terminology; but it is obvious that when they spoke of the "Word of God" being near to all

129 *Ibid.*
130 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
131 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
132 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
133 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
134 *Ibid.*
135 *Ibid.*
136 For the following delineation, see particularly *ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

men they were in substantial and basic agreement with Erasmus' main point.

(8) It is not necessary to overstress Erasmus' view of the individual's responsibility for accepting the grace offered. It is here that he makes his main attack on Luther's claim of the absolute passivity of the believer in the moment of faith and salvation. Suffice it to quote Erasmus' definition of "free will," for it is here it belongs, and not under the heading of "merit" or "works righteousness" where Luther would have it. Says Erasmus:

> I conceive of free will in this context as a power (or ability) of the human will by which a man may apply himself to (or turn toward) those things that lead to eternal salvation or reject (turn away from) the same.[137]

It is significant to note that Erasmus does not include anything in his definition of free will which is inconsistent with his view of the fall, of grace, and of the divine initiative. Here, Denck and Hubmaier are in essential agreement with him. The call is for all men; it is up to man to decide, for or against; and he is free to choose as he wishes.

(9) Many have doubted whether Erasmus has an adequate doctrine of the work of grace and the initiative of God, and of man's utter dependence upon grace for his life and growth and strength at every point. Significant here is that Erasmus rejects the "one-sidedness" of the Pelagians, who in their "over-estimation of the free will" claim man to be able to reach his blessedness by applying his will and the grace given once-for-all at the beginning.[138] He also rejects Duns Scotus' view, which says that natural man without further grace is able to do "relatively virtuous works" by which he then merits grace so as to go on and do the "perfect works."[139] Erasmus goes on to say that Augustine is right in placing a "higher value" on grace, since it is dangerous for true piety when man comes to rely on "his own powers."[140] Rather it is to be doubted whether fallen man could do anything which contributed to salvation if not "proffered" by God's grace in a supernatural way.[141] So, then, as the will and the grace work together, "grace is not merely a partaker, but the originator."[142]

On the basis of this view, Erasmus goes on to regard as "acceptable" the view of the freedom of the will which

137 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
138 *Ibid.*, pp. 28 f.
139 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
140 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
141 *Ibid.*
142 *Ibid.*

> ascribes to grace very much and to the will almost nothing, only so that it is not completely blotted out: it denies that man can do good except by supernatural grace; it denies that he can start, make progress, or finish, without the guiding and strengthening help of divine grace.[143]

This view is acceptable to Erasmus, for "it leaves to man the possibility of effort and endeavor, but does not leave him anything that he can ascribe to his own strength."[144] That this view is closely corresponding to that of Denck and Hubmaier is quite obvious, although the terminology may fall somewhat different. Erasmus tried to speak in traditional, theological terms; the Anabaptists were speaking of "rebirth" and "begetting" in true Biblical fashion.

(10) The negative response of man to God is explained in Erasmus' treatise as ending in "hardening," but the responsibility for it rests with the individaul who in his freedom chooses to reject grace. With Pharaoh, for instance, it was not God who decided to harden Pharaoh's heart; but it was Pharaoh himself who rejected God several times, and so God gave him up.[145] This does not exclude the fact that in every act God's will is active; but He always works for man's good. That which is evil goes out from man's heart, and God leaves him—after a while—alone with it. So it was, then, with Pharaoh; sin and punishment fell together in the hardening of his heart.[146]

Denck and Hubmaier are very close to Erasmus' thought and terminology at this point.

(11) Erasmus also is aware of the fact that man's rejection or acceptance of and by God is never "final" and in itself a "sure thing," once it has taken place. In pointing to Scriptural passages that imply a certain "changeableness" in God,[147] he says: "While this does not connote a change in God, it does give ground to doubt that there is a will in man which can be linked here or there."[148] Obviously, man is the one to change; and God's relation to man is conditioned upon the response of man at any moment. We have already seen that these are the views of Denck and Hubmaier at this point.

(12) The moral concern is, of course, not peripheral for Erasmus. In fact, his main reason for attacking Luther's doctrine of absolute necessity is that it breaks down all responsibility, on the part of man, for his own life and acts; if God works both good and evil in a man, "who will then amend his life, believe God's word, or fight the flesh?"[149] He will be completely passive; life will be totally meaningless; and the Scriptures will have been brought to nought.

143 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
144 *Ibid.*
145 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
146 *Ibid.*
147 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
148 *Ibid.*
149 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

These are the exact notes that we find in Denck and Hubmaier also; the concern for the true life of grace in free response and glad obedience is a common concern for the three men, as opposed to those who have grasped only two points out of the new theology: that God works in man all that ever comes to be; and that faith saves me whatever my life is like.

Conclusion

We have not intended to offer "proofs" for a direct dependence of Denck and Hubmaier on Erasmus. If this was sought, there would be need for quite another caliber of study. But we have seen sufficient to warrant the acceptance of a certain connection between the three men; and their views are so close that a certain influence on the part of the major champion for the freedom of the will over the two Anabaptist leaders is highly probable. The twelve points of affinity and agreement that we have found represented in the treatises with which we have been concerned, were not exactly prevalent in theological circles of their day.

If, as a byproduct of our study, we have succeeded in showing that Erasmus was not as illiterate in the realm of theology as Luther's angry answers in *De serve arbitrio* would have it, it should be taken as an expression of the hope that someone, somewhere, and at some time, will tackle the task of investigating the theology of Erasmus, not from the common standpoint of safe orthodoxy or anxious narrow-mindedness, but in the spirit of an honest learner. For even Erasmus thought of himself as a Christian.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL AND EMERGENT FAMILY TYPES AMONG MIDWESTERN MENNONITES

An Abstract of a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Division of Social Science in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Sociology, the University of Chicago, 1960.

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Scholars are universally agreed that the family as a social institution in the Western world has undergone signficant changes in recent generations. They are not agreed, however, on whether the net effect of these changes has been for the strengthening or the weakening of the family.

Sorokin, Zimmerman, and others who view the family from an "institutional" standpoint, attach special importance to the long-run increase in marital breakup rates and juvenile delinquency rates in their judgment that the modern family has been seriously weakening. Those who approach the family from more of an "individualistic" or human development viewpoint are less pessimistic. Burgess, Locke, Folsom, and Duvall see in modern family patterns an increase in demonstration of affection, increased companionship between spouses and between parents and children, and increased democracy in the family decision-making processes. These trends represent certain strengths believed to be more lacking in traditional, patriarchal family forms.

Employing "ideal type" constructs, "traditional" and "emergent" family types were defined for this study. In general, these ideal types compare with the "institutional" and "companionship" concepts employed by Burgess and Locke, the "traditional" and "developmental" types used by Duvall, and Folsom's comparison of more authoritarian forms with his "democratic" type family.

On the basis of the literature on family trends, the following are the chief traits selected for defining the traditional family: (1) patriarchal authority, (2) infrequent open demonstration of affection, (3) wife seldom or never works outside the home, (4) husband seldom or never helps with the household tasks, (5) family finances are managed by the husband —no wife or child allowances, (6) money earnings of children are turned over to parents, rather than kept by the children, and (7) children are seldom consulted on major family decisions. The opposite traits, such as equal sharing of authority between spouses, wife working outside the home, husband frequently helping with household tasks, etc., were defined as emergent traits on the grounds that these are more generally found among "modern" families than among typical families of two or more generations ago.

Family organization and values among Mennonites in America appear to be undergoing changes reflecting the general trend from traditional to emergent family forms. It was desired to learn whether these changes appear to enhance or to impede the achievement of generally accepted "family success" goals. *Specifically, the research problem was to determine whether, among Mennonites, the socialization and interaction processes appear to be more "successful" in families which evidence primarily traditional traits or in families which evidence primarily the emergent traits.*

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Methodology

Data for the study were obtained by the questionnaire-survey method in the summer of 1956. The subjects consisted of husband, wife, and oldest child in each of 149 Mennonite families, a total of 447 respondents. A one-fifth stratified-random sample of Mennonite congregations in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois was selected. In each of the sixteen sample congregations all families were included in which both spouses were living, were married only once, were members of the Mennonite Church, and in which the oldest child was at least 13 years but under 19 years of age. The selection process resulted in the inclusion of 159 families in the sample. Of these a total of 149, or 93.7 percent, co-operated fully in the study. All respondents were contacted personally by the writer, and questionnaires were completed by the respondents in his presence.

On the basis of responses to 22 questionnaire items, an Index of Traditional-Emergent Family Traits was constructed. The distribution of index scores for the sample families constituted a traditional-emergent continuum. This distribution then became the principal independent variable in the analysis of the data. The dependent variables consisted of several measures of family inter-personal relationships and child development.

The following were used as measures of the principal dependent variables:

(1) *An Index of Marital Success,* consisting of 28 items from the Burgess-Cottrell-Wallin Marriage Success Schedule.

(2) An Index of Child-Parent Relations, consisting of 36 items included in the child questionnaire. This was designed to measure the child's perception of his relationships with his mother and father.

(3) *An Index of Child-Peer Relations,* consisting of 17 items by which the child evaluated his relationships with his friends.

(4) *An Index of Child Personality Traits,* consisting of 20 items included in the husband and wife questionnaires. These required the parents to indicate the degree to which they perceive certain desirable and undesirable traits (e.g., co-operative, affectionate, gets angry easily) to be present in the child's personality.

(5) *An Index of Mennonite Value-Acceptance* consisting of 20 items designed to measure the degree to which the respondent accepted or rejected the traditional religious and ethical teachings of the Mennonite faith.

The "Method of Internal Consistency," developed by Rundquist, Sletto, Likert, and others, was used to validate scale items. On the basis of several pretests, items with low "discriminative power" were removed from the indexes. The Split-Half Reliability Test was employed as a reliability check.

The presentation and analysis of the numerical data have been carried out primarily by the use of contingency tables. The Chi-square test of independence was employed to determine the significance of observed differences between sample proportions.

Principal Findings

Two thirds of the sample families were residing on farms of over three acres at the time of the survey. However, farming was the principal occupation of the family head in only 52 percent of the families. Only ten percent of the families were residing in urban places.

With regard to sharing authority between spouses, Mennonite fami-

lies range from those in which a strongly patriarchal pattern is evident to those few in which the wife is recognized as dominant. About one third of the spouses claimed that authority was shared equally between self and spouse. Mennonite marriages in significantly smaller proportions indicate unhappiness or dissatisfaction in the marriage as compared to the findings from studies of other populations.

Traditional families were found to be positively and significantly associated with rural residence and with farming (as opposed to nonfarm) occupation. No significant relationship was observed between family type and the income level of the family or the educational levels of husband and wife, although there was a tendency for the emergent family type to be positively associated with higher income level.

The comparison of traditional type families with emergent type families led to results generally favoring the emergent families. Emergent families rated significantly higher on the index of marital success (for husband scores, $X^2=6.78$, P is less than .05; for wife scores, $X^2=8.15$, P is less than .02). On the average, emergent families rated higher, but not significantly, on child-parent, child-peer, and child personality traits variables.

High child-parent relations scores were found to be significantly related to high marital success scores ($X^2=13.12$, P is less than .001). High child-peer relations scores were found to be significantly related to high child-parent relations scores ($X^2=27.26$, P is less than .001). The data strongly supported the hypothesis that the quality of the child-parent relationship varies directly with the frequency of the child's interaction with parents in play and work activities. No difference in the quality of child-parent relations was observed when families of differing size were compared. The presence of desired personality traits in the children was significantly related to high child-parent relations scores and to high marital success scores.

Husbands, wives, and children in traditional families did not differ significantly from those in emergent families in their degree of acceptance of Mennonite values. The child's acceptance of Mennonite values was found to be positively and highly significantly related to the parents' acceptance of Mennonite values and to the quality of the child-parent relationship.

The null hypothesis that farm families do not differ with respect to family success was not rejected. The relevant data indicated only slight differences between farm and nonfarm families when compared on the several indexes of family success. Children in farm families had significantly fewer neurotic symptoms than nonfarm children. Farm children average somewhat higher in their acceptance of Mennonite values.

When farm-nonfarm differentials were observed within the traditional and emergent family categories, there was a rather consistent tendency for farm families in the emergnt group to rate highest on the indexes. Farm families in the traditional category were lowest on most ratings. Apparently farm families are slightly favored on the indexes of family success, but this favorable position tends to be offset by the traditional-type family pattern which exists among farm families in larger proportions than among nonfarm families, and which tends to militate against good family interpersonal relations.

The comparison between traditional and emergent families leads to the conclusion that modern family trends among Mennonites do not tend to weaken the family interpersonal relationships or the child develop-

ment pattern. On the contrary, the processes of interaction and socialization appear to be somewhat more successful in families which evidence primarily the emergent traits. It is concluded that the less authoritarian, more equalitarian family pattern is beneficial for the development of good family interpersonal relations and for the development of desirable personality traits in children. This conclusion tends to corroborate the position of Burgess, Locke, Folsom, and others who see in the modern democratic companionship family certain strengths that are lacking in the traditional patriarchial family . The conclusion also supports research findings in the field of human development which point to the more authoritarian family pattern as productive of more conflict between family members and more anti-social behavior in children.

THE CANADIAN MENNONITES

A Study of an Ethnic Group in Relation to the State and Community with Emphasis on Factors Contributing to Success of Failure of Its Adjustment to Canadian Ways of Living. An Abstract of a dissertation submitted to the Department of Political Science, Western Reserve University, in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1955.

George G. Thielman*

The objective of this dissertation is to present the way in which the Mennonites, as a minority group in the Canadian state and community, have adjusted to the culture of the larger society. The thesis begins with the Mennonites as an ethnic group with its origin in Europe. It calls attention to their pacifist, nonresistant, and nonconformist doctrines, and special emphasis is placed upon their peculiar philosophy about the state, which includes primary allegiance to God but obligation to the state, provided laws are not contrary to the will of God.

The four major movements of Mennonites to Canada, from 1799 to the present time, are traced. The inducements, agreements, conditions, and mutual understandings between the Mennonites and the government are shown as factors in these immigrations.

A broad outline is given of the tendency among the Mennonites to split into various branches, because of their extreme individualism and the democratic congregational structure of their religious institution.

The economic and social development of the Mennonites, as well as attendant changes and progress, are surveyed. The discussion centers first around their adjustment to the raw natural conditions in their new environment during the pioneer stage of their existence in Canada. In several instances the government came to the assistance of the Mennonites by providing them with cheap land on which to settle.

The writer describes the relatively rapid adjustment of the Mennonites to their environment in terms of economic adaptation. Being rural-minded, they worked out farming methods which were suitable to the conditions found in both eastern and western Canada. Attention is called to the good results achieved by the western Canadian Mennonites

*The dissertation here abstracted was written under the direction of Dr. Alfred J. Hotz, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, Western Reserve University, and Dr. Carl F. Wittke, Dean of the Graduate School, and approved by them as well as by Dr. Norton E. Long, Dr. Jacob C. Meyer, and Dr. Maurice Klain, members of the Examination Board, of which Dr. Hotz was chairman.

George G. Thielman is Associate Professor of Political Science at Georgia State College of Business Administration, Atlanta, Georgia.

under the solidaristic or village pattern of settlement, which gradually gave way to the individualistic farming system under the impact of the prevailing capitalistic economy. Among the Mennonites social cohesion was strong, buttressed by the practices of mutual aid and co-operation. They set up various mutual organizations in which they pooled their resources and provided support to every venture of a social nature they undertook to sponsor. These factors of mutual aid and co-operation help to explain the success of their colonizing efforts.

Although their adaptation to the prevailing social and political order was slow, because their way of life was bound by long established traditional beliefs and behavior patterns, the Mennonites could not successfully continue to live indefinitely in accordance with the doctrine of nonconformity which had held them in isolation. The social forces of acculturation and assimilation gradually and effectively asserted themselves.

The contacts of the Mennonites with their neighbors and the necessity of competing with them in the economic sphere led them to accept the technological advances made in agriculture and the domestic standards of living of the larger society. Moreover, this process of assimilation extended into other areas of life. Where the process was forced, the larger society encountered resistance and opposition, but where the process was coupled with sympathy and understanding and accompanied by an appeal to their sense of co-operation, the authorities observed Mennonite willingness and enthusiasm to perform the tasks of good citizens in practical politics, in participation in the war effort, and in education. This dissertation presents data to prove how these changes in political beliefs, in nonresistance, and in the school system were brought about. As citizens of a democracy, the Mennonites have not only shown greater interest in public affairs but have accepted public office as well.

The discussion is directed next to the specific relations of the Mennonites to the state in time of war. The Canadian national government has always respected their peace doctrine by exempting them from military service, exemption being granted automatically to those belonging to the group of religious people called "Mennonites." Up to World War II the Mennonites enjoyed complete immunity from any form of state service. The global nature of the recent conflict and public opinion, however, led Canadian authorities to modify the privileged status of this ethnic group. Exemption from military service continued to be granted, but alternative service was required. This exemption was no longer given automatically on the basis of membership in the Mennonite brotherhood; conscientious objection had to be individually established. The study disclosed that the Mennonite way of life had been challenged to such an extent that it was difficult for many young people to adhere to the "faith of their fathers." Their nonresistant peace doctrine had been undermined by the impact of social interaction, by the influence of secular education, and by the influences of urban ways of life. As a result, nearly half of the young Mennonite men of military age joined the Canadian armed forces. At the same time, the peace testimony was upheld by many other Mennonites who served in Alternative Service Camps.

The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the conflict in the educational field between the ethnic group and the local educational authorities. In the beginning, the Mennonites had been allowed cultural autonomy with complete educational freedom, through which they maintained their ethnic identity. Toward the end of the first quarter of

this century, the educational authorities attempted to integrate the Mennonite schools with the prevailing public school sysem. While the liberal Mennonites made the transition to the English language voluntarily, the conservative group resisted it as a major threat to their way of life, and ultimately those ultra-conservative Mennonites who could not reconcile themselves to the educational changes departed for Mexico and Paraguay. Meanwhile, the moderate and liberal Mennonites adapted themselves to the pressures of a broader Canadianism by setting up model schools with good teachers.

Finally, attention is focussed upon the struggle for the retention of the Mennonite way of life as advocated by the church-centered groups and the *Kultur-Mennoniten*. The former emphasize the Biblical aspect of Mennonitism, whereas the latter stress German folklore as well.

Caspar Schwenckfeld on the Person and Work of Christ. A Study of *Schwenckfeldian Theology at its Core.* By Paul L. Maier. Royal Van Gorcum Ltd.; Assen, The Netherlands. 1959. Pp.115. (Available through Christian Book Center, Kalamazoo, Michigan, $1.95.)

Men who study the Left Wing of the Reformation have for some time lamented the lack of any authoritative study of the theology of Schwenckfeld. In spite of the convenient availability of most of his writings through the devotion of his American followers *(Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum)* no one has presented us with an objective reading of Schwenckfeld's theology. The studies of the thought of this noble Silesian were either openly hostile or else such spirited vindications of his position as to make them unreliable in either case.

This outstanding study by an instructor in history at Western Michigan University (and campus pastor to Lutheran students) accordingly fills a definite vacuum, serving both by its thoroughness and objectivity as a model for other works of its kind. While the title of the work might lead some to think that this is a treatment of Schwenckfeld's Christology, anyone conversant with Schwenckfeld is aware that his view of Christ is at the basis of his view of the church and the Christian life.

Maier's work is divided into three parts. Part one is a survey of Schwenckfeld's dominant theological concerns (ethics, the middle road, the sacraments, and the doctrine of the Word). Part two is entitled "The Christological Focus," and deals with the derivation of Schwenckfeld's doctrine of the person and work of Christ as well as the anthropological presuppositions. Part three is an exposition of Schwenckfeldian Christology and Soteriology including four chapters that deal with "The Preexistent Word," Christ in the state of humiliation, and in the state of exaltation and finally the believer's participation in Christ. A conclusion and bibliography (but, alas; no index) complete the work.

The outstanding characteristic of this study is its objectivity. It is a superb example of a technical work portraying the thought of a thinker without spending most of the time either defending him or refuting him. There is no question about the reliability of this work as a guide to Schwenckfeld's thought. The focus on Christology is accurate and the proportion of discussion on the church also accurately portrays Schwenckfeld. The value of this work is greatly enhanced by the author's obvious acquaintance with the history of Christian thought. Thus he can detect passages in Schwenckfeld that "betray crypto-docetic tendencies in [Schwenckfeld's] Christology" (p. 55). He notes also that Schwenckfeld's entire Christology may be understood as a protest against the "Nestorianizing tendencies of Swiss theology in favor of a near-Eutychian emphasis which approximated many elements in Luther's Christology" (p. 60).

The book is disappointing only at a few points. It suffers from a lack of clarity on the relation of Schwenckfeld to Anabaptism and what constitutes his fundamental crique of Anabaptism. It is hardly enough to state that Schwenckfeld "disavowed the enthusiasm of the Anabaptists" (p. 13 and 15). This is especially the case when Torsten Bergsten's excellent treatment of the Schwenckfeld-Marpeck controversy is given a place in the footnotes but never used. Such an alley deserved exploration because it could have shed considerable light on the precise formulation of Schwenckfeld's Christology as well as the contradictory way in which Schwenckfeld discusses such themes as the salvation of the Old Testament

patriarchs (cf. pp. 50f). Marpeck was a Pauline and Johannine "Biblicist," and if we accept Maier's statement that Schwenckfeld was also a Biblicist (p. 33), we are hard pressed to explain their differences, unless the clue is found in the Neoplatonism which Schwenckfeld derived from Augustine. Such Neoplatonic presuppositions would make a vast difference in the interpretation of the same documents.

In addition to some of the errata corrected there is a curious slip on page 24 where reference is made to the Anabaptists in a critical way without any support from the text cited (*CS* IV, 121ff). In page 67 the second quotation from Schwenckfeld is taken from *CS* IX, 769, not 768 and should have a closing quotation mark. For the most part the translations from Schwenckfeld are well done. On page 69 the last line of the quotation should read "Him" instead of "them." The word "mistakable" is consistently misspelled (pp. 95, 101, 106), as is also Bernard of Clairvaux on page 110. On page 98 the word "weaned" is used incorrectly.

These minor errors do not depreciate the quality of the work available here nor detract from its importance. Maier has rendered the scholarly world an appreciated service in making available this penetrating study of a man who is surely "one of the worthiest and most attractive figures in the era of the Reformation—nay in the history of Christianity" (Wach).

Mennonite Biblical Seminary WILLIAM KLASSEN

The Free Church Through the Ages. By Gunnar Westin. Translated from the third (1955) Swedish edition by Virgil A. Olson. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958. Pp. 380. $4.75.

Gunnar Westin recently retired after almost thirty years as Professor of Church History at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. In a foreword to this edition Kenneth S. Latourette considers this long tenure an "unusual tribute to a Baptist in a country where the state church is Lutheran." The book itself does, in fact, give particular attention to Baptist interests here and there but without sacrificing continuity and scholarship.

It is a remarkable achievement to collect into one volume the major events of the non-established Church from the time of Paul to the present. The wealth of material requiring discussion actually gives the work a "handbook" character as the author had intended, particularly chapters IV and V which cover the period since 1600. Chapters I and II, dealing with the early church and the pre-Reformation heresies are stimulating but brief. The third chapter, treating the Reformation period from 1525 to 1600, does more justice to the material it covers than do the other chapters.

The approach of the author, as the title indicates, is in terms of the Troeltschian church-sect typology, the "free church" being defined in terms of its voluntarism and separation from the state. Though the term "free church" is useful in the European setting it is not really helpful and actually deceptive when used as *leitmotif* in discussing the pre-Constantinian or the American Church. If believers' baptism is not always exercised in the church that rejects the domination of the state, as the author himself shows, then the term "free church" refers primarily to independence from the state. With this logical and commonly ac-

cepted definition in mind it is surprising to note the companions added by the author to usual groups; Marcion, Montanus, Novatian, the Donatists, Paulicians, Cathari, as well as Wycliffe, Wesley, and others. The attitude of these groups to the state was acually peripheral o their central concern. In common with the Anabaptists and Puritans the central concern of these groups was for a deepening of the Christian life, but this can hardly be claimed as a unique "free church" phenomenon. Most of these groups were also concerned for the purity of the church, but this again cannot be claimed as distinctive of the "free church" without doing violence to Calvin and even to Luther's definitional purity through justification. The working definition of "free church" which actually emerges is any group that departs from the norm established by the majority, but this grouping, at best, leaves our understanding of these groups and their central concern where it has been.

The author shows a remarkable mastery of sources and detail. The excellent handling of the Anabaptist material is particularly significant in view of the writers' relative isolation from the "Anabaptist round table" in America. To the discussion about the relationship between Baptists and Anabaptists the author adds helpful insights in his delineation of the Puritan (Southwark) and Arminian (Holland) streams in Baptist history, later the Particular and General Baptists respectively. The specific attention given to Hubmaier is welcome and justified in view of the sometime Baptist claims upon him, though the assertion that he was "without question the foremost [preacher and writer] of the early Anabaptists leaders" may be debated. Pilgram Marpeck certainly ranks higher.

George H. Williams has remarked that writings by Anabaptists in French could be held with ease between two fingers. The same can undoubtedly be said of writings *about* Anabaptism and their spirit in Swedish. It is tremendously heartening, therefore, to see this well documented, sympathetic study of the "free church" movement written in Swedish and available to the host of theologians there who are being heard from increasingly. Translator Olson deserves a special tribute for making it available to us in readable English.

Mennonite Biblical Seminary CORNELIUS J. DYCK

History of Religion in the United States. By Clifton E. Olmstead. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.; Prentice-Hall, 1960. Pp. xii plus 593 and bibliography and index. $10.00.

For many years the work of William Warren Sweet has dominated the field of textbooks in American church history. He set a high standard of scholarship and of clarity in writing, but many have felt that he left something to be desired in his almost exclusive emphasis upon the sociological and institutional aspects of religion. Dr. Olmstead of the George Washington University has attempted to remedy this defect and to supply a more adequate treatment of the theological and intellectual influence and trends in American religion along with the social, political, and economic. His book follows the conventional pattern of textbooks, being oriented toward the denominational and institutional aspects of religion in America and giving a running history which attempts to bring into focus social and theological factors. As Dr. Olmstead comments, some will wish that he had given even more space to the theologi-

cal aspects, and this reviewer is among them. Nevertheless it is a real satisfaction to note that the brief theological summaries are generally accurate and meaningfully related to the whole history of which they form a part.

The approach of the book is well illustrated in the two chapters devoted to the Great Awakening. The first chapter discusses the spread of the revival beginning with the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches in New Jersey, then moves on to the New England phase, the Baptist phase in the South and finally to the introduction of Methodism and its contribution to the revival. In a second chapter the further effects of the revival are discussed. Its contribution to missions, philanthropic enterprises and education are noted, and the chapter closes with a three-page summary discussion of changing patterns in theology—patterns which were integrally involved both as cause and effect of the revival. Similar theological summaries are to be found throughout the book dealing with the thought of leading theologians and founders of cults. There are also frequent sections and paragraphs dealing with the religious practices and basic beliefs of various groups.

There are many fine features in this new textbook. Its general organization is very good. There is clear logical movement and progress of thought. Among its welcome features is a much needed chapter on the Roman Catholic religious contribution in the early colonization of America. The four closing chapters on the rise of important cults and significant trends in the twentieth century are an excellent summary of the complex forces which have shaped the present situation. When one finishes the book, he feels that he has been brought to the present decade with an enriched understanding, not only of the history of its religious life and thought, but of its significance, meaning, and problems.

Unfortunately, there are also some imperfections which must also be pointed out. It is to be much regretted that the use of footnotes has been so severely restricted. The explanation is that high production costs forbade their inclusion. But could not a golden mean have been found? As it is, there are footnotes for only "primary" quotations of a paragraph or more. (Interestingly, most of the "primary" quotations seem to have been taken from secondary sources.)

While Olmstead's style is generally clear, one encounters some awkward sentences in which the antecedents of pronouns are unclear, or in which precision is lacking to a degree that affects the meaning. Some, perhaps most, of these are of no serious consequence or may be untangled if one takes the time and trouble, and therefore do not need to be pointed out. The one concerning John Smyth and his congregation on page 18, however, would certainly leave the uninitiated reader under a false impression that Smyth and his whole congregation returned to England sometime after their rebaptism.

On page 17 Olmstead incorrectly lists the Schwenckfelders and Moravians among the denominations which crystallized out of the earlier Anabaptist movement. On page 18 he states that Robert Browne "developed a close association with the Dutch Anabaptists." This statement should not be made without qualification, for there is no direct evidence to prove that Browne got his ideas from the Dutch, neither is their any conclusive evidence from the ideas themselves. Browne was much more closely related to Puritan thought than to the Anabaptists, and he himself strongly denied Anabaptist doctrine. If connections are to be made with the Anabaptists, Roger Williams is a much more likely

possibility. Williams, we know, read the Dutch language, and his ideas concerning the relation of the Old and New Testaments and consequently of the church and state follow the Anabaptist interpretation, in sharp contrast to the dominant Calvinism.

In his discussion of the Plymouth and Boston colonies Olmstead follows the thesis that Plymouth was strongly Separatist while the Bay Colony was non-Separatist. He follows Perry Miller's modification of this thesis, namely that both were congregationalist in polity and that the principal difference between them was their respective attitudes toward the established church. There is good evidence, however, that John Robinson, leader of the Leyden exiles, greatly moderated his Separatist position and that the group was not strongly Separatist when it left Holland for the New World. How else can one account for the "Seven Articles which the Church of Leyden sent to the Counsel of England," in which an essentially non-Separatist position was taken? On this question the position of H. Shelton Smith that "the Plymouth and Bay brethren were obviously in substantial agreement from the beginning" seems more in accord with the evidence. (See *American Christianity*, New York, 1960, 86 f.)

In spite of these minor inaccuracies Olmstead is to be congratulated for a fine job. Textbook authors can hardly be expected to cover large areas of complex historical development and at the same time be acquainted at first hand with all the specialized areas of research. He is obviously least at home in the first chapter on European backgrounds, and in general his account of the relation and interplay of American church life and thought with its British and European counterpart is weak. His interpretation of the American religious scene, however, is insightful and will undoubtedly win for this textbook a wide use.

Durham, N.C. C. Norman Kraus

A Pillar of Cloud: The Story of Hesston College, 1909-59. By Mary Miller. Introduction by Paul Erb. Reference notes, appendices, bibliography and index. Mennonite Board of Education, Hesston, Kansas. 1959. Pp. 260 + xi, illustrated. $3.75.

Miss Miller names the story of Hesston College "A Pillar of Cloud" to indicate that, as the starts and stops of the Children of Israel in their journeyings through the Wilderness were directed by a pillar of cloud, so Divine Guidance has led Hesston College from its first feeble beginnings to its present respected and honored place in the family of Mennonite colleges. In selecting her to be the author of its fiftieth anniversary history, Hesston College was fortunate. She possesses the experience, the industry, the temperament and the training requisite for such an arduous task. When she was a mere slip of a girl her father offered to donate eighty acres of Kansas farm land as a location for the proposed "Mennonite school in the West." She did most of her high-school work and all of her college at Hesston and in her junior and senior years served as part-time instructor. In 1960 she completed a quarter of a century as instructor in English at her Alma Mater. During her term of service she took time also to complete the work for the Master's degree and did several years' work beyond. This with her teaching of English made her master of the art of narration, clear, straightforward storytelling. Added to this is her devotion to her instructors and fellow faculty members and her firm faith in the cause into which she has poured her life. Her vivid account of the near disasters and the successes of the school makes one participate emphatically in these events, the final test of good writing.

Except for the first two chapters and the last the treatment of the material is almost slavishly chronological. This has the effect of presenting a large number of topics in some paragraphs, but it has the advantage, on the other hand, of showing in a vivid manner the various stages in the decline or the progress of the institution. And Hesston has had periods of both. The first chapter, "The Mennonite Path to Hesston College," is to assist the reader "to understand why Mennonites saw the need of educating their young people so late and so reluctantly." Here in less than a half dozen pages the author traces in sharp, clear outline the decline of the powerful Anabaptist tradition into the "Stillen im Lande" attitude of the Mennonites on the American frontier. How could one present more clearly and convincingly the background against which our Mennonite colleges were founded? The concluding chapter, "The Product," illustrated with more than a dozen pictures showing Hesston alumni at their work, is a thrilling presentation of the end-product of the years of seemingly thankless toil, of overcoming inertia or downright opposition, of going on in faith, believing in the worthwhileness of the task and trusting in God to bless the effort. It is an inspiring record.

To T. M. Erb, Miss Miller gives the credit for conceiving the idea of a "Western Mennonite school" and giving it concrete form. He and "Uncle Abe" L. Hess gave the school much of its moral and material support during the trying first quarter of a century when—after a chorus of voices had said, "Don't try it; it can't be done!"—A. L. Hess, for whom the village of Hesston was named, donated the eighty acres of rich farm land on which Hesston College began and on which it is still located.

Chapters III through VI take up the successive administrations which have directed the academic work and policies of Hesston College: "Daniel H. Bender, 1909-1930;" "Two Years Without a President," the period following the resignation of D. H. Bender during which the affairs of the College were administered by a committee appointed by the Mennonite Board of Education: Edward Yoder, dean; I. E. Burkhart, head of the Bible department; Paul Erb, registrar; and Maurice A. Yoder, business manger; "Milo Kauffman, 1932-1951"; and "Roy D. Roth, 1951-1959." The author speaks appreciatively of D. H. Bender's happy faculty of helping to reconcile conflicting views and of the success of the first president and his deans and faculty members in building a school that would meet the approval of the constituency and the educational needs of the Mennonite young people of the West. The enrollment rose from sixty-seven to 248 during this period. The high school was accredited. The College granted the A.B. degree for the eight years, 1919-27, except in 1924-25, the year the junior college was first accredited. The period following President Bender's resignation, the years of the depression in the early 1930's, brought heartbreak and recession to Hesston as to many other colleges. Against the advice of many of his friends Milo Kauffman accepted the burden of the presidency, voluntarily served for fifteen dollars per month and sometimes left even this pittance in the college till to be divided among his colleagues. The subdivisions of the Kauffman chapter: A Rebeginning, Upgrade, Normalcy, and The Boom Years, indicate the rising tide in Hesston's fortunes, a trend that has continued through the Roth administration and down to the present.

The actors in the drama that is Hesston College must find great joy in reading this well-written story of its service to the Mennonite Church and to its local constituency. The appendices contain the names of many who have had a more humble but important part in the institution.

Goshen, Indiana JOHN UMBLE

(Continued from Page 90)

The purpose of the Seminar was to provide a forum at which the Anabaptist and Wesleyan views of the nature of the holy life might be presented by competent authorities for purposes of mutual understanding and comparison. The sponsors were convinced that the two traditions have much in common, and that a brotherly encounter on the academic level could be very profitable. The experience and results of the Seminar more than fulfilled the advance expectations of the sponsors. It is to be hoped that readers of the articles as now printed will have the same profitable experience. Whether John Wesley would have been an Anabaptist had he lived in the sixteenth century, as one speaker suggested, may be left to the reader to decide in the basis of the evidence.

The paper on "Current Theological Emphases in the American Holiness Tradition" was included in the Seminar because this tradition best represents currently the authentic Wesleyan tradition. It admirably fulfilled its intent.

THE REMAINING THREE ARTICLES IN THE CURRENT ISSUE PRESENT SUBSTANTIAL scholarly contributions to the understanding of the theology of sixteenth-century Anabaptism. All three authors are newcomers in the field. Dr. Gerhard J. Neumann of Bielefeld, Germany, has already published several important articles on Anabaptism in Continental German scholarly journals such as the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*. Dr. Walter Klaassen's paper comes out of his recent doctoral dissertation at Oxford University in England, "The Anabaptist View of Word and Spirit." Thor Hall's paper was written in Professor Hans Hillerbrand's Anabaptist Seminar at Duke University Divinity School.

WALTER KLAASSEN'S STUDY IS THE FIRST TREATMENT IN ENGLISH ON THE Anabaptist view of the Holy Spirit and reveals in an almost surprising way the depth and sobriety of their views. He demonstrates clearly that the Anabaptists stand in the main line of evangelical tradition here, that they are basically not spiritualists, and that they added vital needed emphases and understanding to the Reformation doctrine of the Spirit.

GERHARD NEUMANN REVIEWS IN SURVEY FASHION THE ANABAPTIST VIEWS ON Baptism and the Lord's Supper based on a direct examination of the sources. While not exhaustive, Neumann's treatment throws into full relief the distinctive Anabaptist position as differing from both Catholic and Lutheran positions on both sacraments, and from the Reformed position in baptism, though agreeing essentially with the Reformed view of the symbolic character of the sacraments.

THOR HALL'S STUDY IS A THOROUGHGOING AND MOST ENLIGHTENING EXAMINATION of the possible influence of Erasmus on Denck and Hubmaier in one particular point—the doctrine of the freedom of the will. With no intent to furnish direct proofs by literary citations, the author has here nevertheless furnished a substantial body of evidence showing interconnections between the three men on a position which certainly was not commonly held in that day. The study also casts new light on Erasmus' theological position.

WITH THE PUBLICATION IN THE RESEARCH NOTES OF TWO DISSERTATION ABstracts the REVIEW begins a policy which we hope will lead to a publication of abstracts of all doctoral dissertations in the comprehensive field of Anabaptist-Mennonite studies, not only historical and theological, but also sociological, as is the case with the abstracts of the Kauffman and Thielman dissertations published in this issue. A remarkable number of doctoral dissertations are now in progress or have been written in recent years, which deserve to be brought to the attention of scholars.

INDEX TO MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA

A complete alphabetical list of all articles published in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, including the Supplement, giving author initials and volume and page locations, has been prepared and printed by offset process. It is available from the Mennonite Publishing House for $2.00.

MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Supplement to CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

as found in Volume IV, pp. 1141-48.

Volume I

Page and line

xiiib, 9: *for* Elmer *read* Emanuel

xiiib, 52: *delete* the entire line

xva, 53: *for* Stauffville, Pa. *read* Stouffville, Ont.

214b, 63: *add* after Hooge, Allen Fast served four years as pastor.

282b, 17: *for* Bergtal *read* Bergthal

333: the tenth in the list of Bible Schools, Hoffnungsfeld, *for* GCM *read* MB

429b, 15: *for* Kerk *read* Kerkelijk

684a, 52: *for* Ratzburg *read* Ratzeburg

Illustrations

11, No. 3: the date 1790 is too late. The congregation acquired the building in 1787; the date of its erection is much earlier, but not known, possibly 1740.

11, No. 5: *for* (MC) *read* (OOM)

Volume II

507a, 16: *for* Eine schön *read* Ein schon

682b, 52: *for* Hazenpoot *read* Hazenpoet

751a, 32: *for* colleges; *read* colleges):

839a, 2: *delete last sentence and replace by the following:* Johan Huizinga was a member of the Mennonite church. He was baptized at Groningen on March 15, 1891, and his membership was transferred to the congregation at Leyden on February 25, 1917, where he remained a member until his death. (Source: Irvin Horst)

Illustrations

11, No. 5 and 6 identifications have been interchanged and should be reversed.

Volume III

87a, 22: *for* year *read* term (1900-1909)

492b, 30: *for* Freiburg *read* Freiberg

732a, 31: *for ML.* III, 153. *read* Carl Pohlmann. *Gesch. d. Grafen v. Zweibrücken* in *Schriftenreihe z. bayr. Landesgeschichte* (1938): *idem*, "Auswärtige Uhrmacher im Dienste Herzog Joh. I. v. Zweibrücken," *Westricher Heimatblätter* (1930, No. 5); *ML* III, 153.

Volume IV

35b, 8: *for* Turpin, *read* Turpin and Balko,

35b, 9: *for* Balko and Hooker, *read* Hooker.

405a, 59: *for* 1936 *read* 1956

512b, 38: *for* Mich. *read* Minn.

539b, 60: *add author's initials* C.K.

557a, 16 ff: Jacob Snyder I was a bishop, succeeded as bishop by his son Jacob and later by his son Herman. His son Christian (1819-74) is the one who moved to Freeport. His son Abram was ordained minister in 1884, the same day Herman was ordained bishop. Abram's two sons Jacob and Herman were ordained minister and deacon respectively, and they were the ones who seceded to the GCM Church, not Jacob. (Information by J. Paul Sauder, grandson of Abram.)

663a, 23: *for* C. Richard *read* D. Richard. John Lederach was the first regular pastor 1953-57. A new church was erected in 1957.

700a, 39: *for* Andrea *read* Andreae

716b, 18: *for* Geog *read* Georg

811b, 55: *for* Vereening *read* Vereeniging

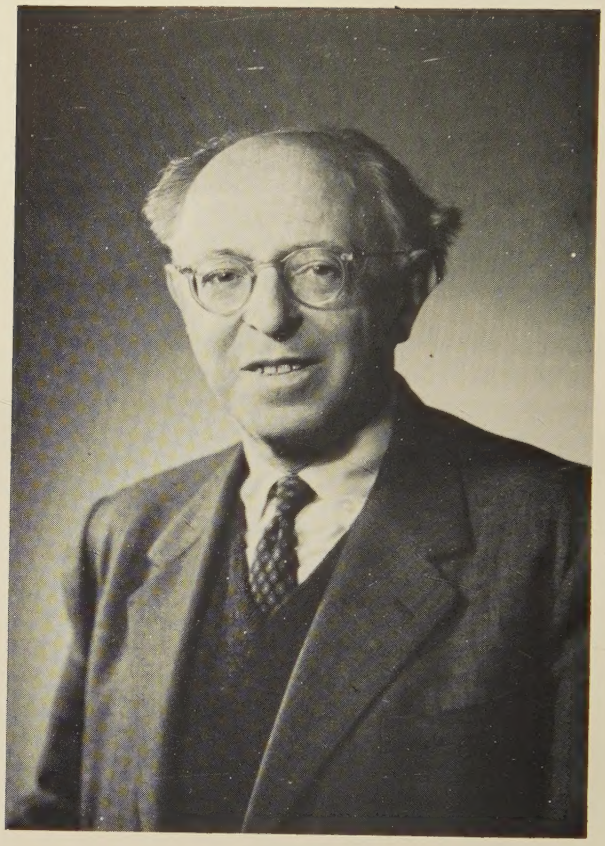
1085b, 43: *for* 307 *read* 397

1086b, 16: *for* Gardental *read* Gartental

1090a, 40: *for* S.D. *read* N.D.

1092a, 63: *add author's initials* H.S.B.

1149a, 17: *for* 1895 *read* 1897



ROBERT FRIEDMANN, Ph.D.

on his
Seventieth Birthday Anniversary
June 9, 1961